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Further on Surikov Interview on SDI

PM061235 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 87
Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Aviation Major General Boris Trofimovich Surikov by S. Guk: "Robot at the Nuclear Control Panel? Supporters of SDI Want the Question of Whether or Not There Will Be War To Be Resolved Not by a Human Brain but an Electronic One"; date and place of interview not given; first three paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Following the signing of the Soviet-U.S. agreement on the elimination of two classes of missiles, the leaders of the USSR and the United States sent a coordinated draft of their instructions to their delegates in Geneva—to elaborate a treaty on a radical reduction of strategic offensive armaments. The essential condition under which a new agreement is possible is the observance of the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and nonwithdrawal from it for the duration of a stipulated period. If the USSR and the United States do not agree by the time when the stipulated period of nonwithdrawal from the ABM Treaty comes to an end, each side will have the right to determine its mode of action for itself.

If... The present U.S. Administration has no intention of consigning the "Star Wars" plans to the archives, as is borne out by President R. Reagan's address to the nation after the summit meeting: "I made it clear that the implementation of our SDI program will continue and when our system is ready for deployment, that is what we will do."

The interview "Star Illusions" (IZVESTIYA No 318, 1987) discussed in detail what putting weapons into space will mean. Continuing the theme, we dwell today on the problems which remained outside the framework of the first interview. Our interlocutor is Aviation Major General Boris Trofimovich Surikov, a government expert on new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction.

[Guk] Last time you said that after weapons have been put into space the threat of a world conflict will increase immeasurably. Does that mean that as long as there are nuclear weapons only on earth mankind can sleep relatively peacefully?

[Surikov] There is no absolute guarantee even in that case: Too many weapons of mass destruction have been accumulated in the world. What we most fear could happen because of fortuitous incidents, technical hitches, or blunders.

Preventive measures are constantly being improved in both the USSR and the United States. But no technology will provide 100% reliability. As is well-known, it is not only passenger aircraft but also military aircraft carrying nuclear weapons which crash. In the United States, for

instance, 995 serious accidents were recorded from 1950 through 1975. In one case—it happened in North Carolina—five of the six safeguard devices on a nuclear bomb went out of action.

[Guk] Accidents do not happen only in the United States....

[Surikov] Of course. In October 1986 a fire suddenly broke out in one of the compartments of a Soviet atomic submarine carrying ballistic missiles. Three crew members died. This happened approximately 1,000 km north of the Bermudas. For 4 days the crews of the submarine and the Soviet ships which arrived tried to keep the submarine afloat but they did not succeed in saving it. It sank. Fortunately, they were able to close down the nuclear reactor. The experts' conclusion is that the likelihood of a nuclear explosion has been completely ruled out.

[Guk] False alarms could also be the cause of an unsanctioned nuclear conflict. Incidentally, how do these alarms occur?

[Surikov] A major fire has occurred somewhere, where there is a thunderstorm or some other atmospheric phenomena. The monitors of the warning system in space can take the fire for the flare of booster rockets. For instance, a commotion was once caused in the United States by a training tape with a computer program simulating a Soviet missile attack. Someone accidentally linked it up to the combat circuit. The report published by the U.S. Senate Armed Services Committee in October 1980 stated that in 1.5 years the command points of the air defense command headquarters had received 3,703 false signals from the warning system that a nuclear attack had been launched against the United States.

[Guk] And what if someone's nerve fails at the command point?

[Surikov] In that case nothing will happen. Only the U.S. President can give the order to launch.

[Guk] An order given in error and misunderstanding are ruled out?

[Surikov] I will explain using an example taken from U.S. sources. Imagine a U.S. submarine carrying Poseidon type missiles which has received the order for a nuclear attack. First, the order is decoded and its authenticity is checked by two officers specially assigned for the purpose, who check it against a code kept in a safe.

No one can launch the missiles without the order. A special blocking system is provided for on the submarine. To turn it off, keys have to be inserted and turned in a specific sequence in three special keyholes (one is at the console control post and the others in the cabins of the navigator and commander). The keys are kept in four safes: The commander's key is kept in duplicate and the code for the outer armored safe is known only to the senior mate and his standby. No one on the submarine knows the combination

for the two safes, which are revealed only following a combat alert. A similar blocking system also operates on the U.S. ICBM ground-based launch pads. I should add that our system for protecting strategic armaments against fortuitous occurrences is no less reliable.

[Guk] It must be supposed that if the United States nonetheless decides to put combat platforms with missiles into space, the safety system will be considered no less carefully?

[Surikov] The "safeguards" operating on the ground and at sea will be totally unsuitable in space. Look what happens: There will be a drastic reduction in the time for using space weapons and at the same time there will be a disproportionate increase in blunders and technical hitches. Even before near-earth space was never a sterile medium (meteorites, meteor streams, dust). There has been additional "pollution" of space in the era of its development. There are now 8,300-15,000 nonfunctioning medium and large objects of artificial origin in space orbit with a speed of about 8 km a second. They include out of commission spacecraft and fragments of these spacecraft, the final stages of launch vehicles, rocket cones, and so forth. Accidental collisions with ABM combat or information elements, even at a relative speed of 1 km a second, will put any spacecraft out of commission. Collisions in space are inevitable.

We can only speculate on the reaction of the U.S. generals and officers on duty at the control panels when some electronic apparatus goes out of commission in space, particularly in crisis situations. It is physically impossible to check what has happened: It is a matter of seconds. The collision will be regarded as a preemptive strike of ours—that is the source of a potential future tragedy. But even that is not all: When combat platforms collide with an object in space, antimissiles or some other fragments may accidentally become separated from them and the Soviet warning system could wrongly take them for the start of a nuclear attack from space.

[Guk] So the command points on earth will have to analyze the situation and take decisions blindly?

[Surikov] The trouble is that on the U.S. side, decisions will not be made on earth. The supporters of SDI have done their sums. They proceed from the premise that if an enemy creates an ICBM with an active flight duration of 90 seconds then the decision to initiate combat operations must be taken within 10 seconds to ensure the effectiveness of the ABM space echelon. Any longer is quite impossible: They must manage to lock onto the enemy missiles and the heat seeking warheads react only to the flares of the booster rockets. Once the warhead has been separated the antimissiles can no longer reach it.

And what is 10 seconds? There is scarcely even the time to transmit the information to earth. That is why the supporters of SDI plan to put into space autonomous decision-making systems. To create a supercomplex control program. To introduce to it fundamentally new elements of artificial

intelligence. If these plans are implemented, the fate of the world may depend on the correct development of control programs and the reliability of a superelectronic brain. The power to take fatal decisions will be passed on to robots. It is the robots which, within seconds, within the framework of a set program, will have to determine whether or not to pass the death sentence on mankind and carry it out. They will not ask people.

[Guk] That means that if this idea makes headway it will be the lot of future generations to look into the sky with fear and rely on machines not organizing a "nuclear meat grinder?"

[Surikov] Yes, but the threat will not come only from space. SDI is a gamble on supertechnologies. The arms systems on earth will also come into its vortex. Last time I described lasers. I shall add that in the United States now they are building a ground-based large-scale experimental device—a free-electron laser. Laser radiation is directed onto a large mirror, from there to a reflector in stationary orbit, and from there to combat mirrors which will be suspended above the earth at an altitude of 1,000km. It is claimed that the combat mirrors should be directed against the enemy's booster missiles and burn them. The task is insoluble: The mirror will unfailingly vibrate, however slightly, during flight, and the rays will never reach the missile. But a city is another matter. This "hyperboloid" will cause firestorms which will make the bombing of Dresden pale by comparison.

[Guk] And what will we do, wait to be "roasted?"

[Surikov] Under no circumstances. Ground-based devices are vulnerable—to those selfsame cruise missiles. Space mirrors still more so: Antisatellites or space mines will be found to combat them.

[Guk] If we have the time...

[Surikov] Well, when the first fire begins it will be clear who is responsible and the order will be given immediately to strike the mirrors in space. And without them, the ground-based laser device is dead.

[Guk] We are proposing to eliminate the strategic nuclear armaments of the USSR and the United States. But our readers are worried that the result may be that we reduce everything while the United States sets about creating new weapons against which we will have no defense.

[Surikov] No, it is not going to be like that. Everything has been carefully weighed with the participation of military men, scientists, and designers. The creation of SDI and new types and systems of armaments requires time, and not only the development of all systems under laboratory conditions but also experiments on test ranges. The Americans are now checking their ideas with the aid of computers. In my view the models which are being analyzed are absolutely senseless. The Pentagon can include in the program only what we have as of now.

They have an approximate knowledge of the technical specifications of our missiles and can assess approximately the number of false targets on each missile and can deduce approximately what kind of means, including active means, we will create to counter theirs.

But their mistake is that the supporters of the "Star Wars" program do not know and cannot know what retaliatory weapons may be created in our country in 10-15 years time. But they will be created more rapidly than SDI can be implemented. Naturally, the USSR will create more effective armaments only if the United States implements its new offensive programs.

Decades have been needed to succeed in achieving the first agreement on the elimination of two classes of nuclear missiles. Prospects have been opened up for halving the strategic arsenals of the USSR and the United States. Of itself this fact is a recognition of the fact that the problem of mankind's security cannot be farmed out to equipment. How long will the U.S. Administration need to realize another truth: The same rule operates not only under conditions on earth but also under conditions in space? It is not pyramids of strike armaments, not robots, but people who must determine what our future will be.

Karpov Says CW Convention 'Feasible' in 1988
PM061419 Moscow TRUD in Russian 5 Jan 88 p 3

[TRUD interview with Ambassador V. Karpov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Arms Control and Disarmament Administration: "Ban Chemical Weapons!"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Ambassador V. Karpov, chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry Arms Control and Disarmament Administration, answers TRUD's questions.

[TRUD] What place does the question of banning chemical weapons occupy now, particularly with regard to the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles?

[Karpov] It is our view that now, after the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the complete banning and destruction of chemical weapons under strict and effective international verification should be one of the priorities along with the earliest solution of the problem of the 50% reduction of strategic offensive armaments in conditions of the observance of the ABM Treaty.

The level at which the problem of banning chemical weapons is being studied in international talks now is such that it is possible to regard the conclusion of the corresponding convention within 1988 as feasible. On condition, of course, that all states work toward that end.

The significance of banning chemical weapons is now made even greater by the fact that some people in the West are linking those weapons with their plans for the

so-called "compensation" for the destruction of intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. Such a turn of events would not only be dangerous in itself—it would also undermine the very idea of disarmament.

[TRUD] But clearly, that is what is happening now. The batch production of binary chemical weapons began in the United States on 16 December 1987. What effect could this move by the United States have on the efforts aimed at banning chemical weapons?

[Karpov] The production of the new generation of chemical weapons—binary weapons—which has begun in the United States is having an adverse effect on the talks aimed at banning this type of mass destruction weapon.

The Geneva talks are not taking place in a vacuum. They are greatly influenced by what is happening in the world. In light of that, the Soviet Union has undertaken a whole series of steps designed to strengthen the atmosphere of trust in the chemical weapons sphere. In spring last year, M.S. Gorbachev stated that the production of chemical weapons in the USSR has ceased, that we will not transfer them to anyone, and that we are not deploying them on foreign territories. In addition, in October 1987 we invited all the participants in the talks to our military installation at Shikhan where we demonstrated standard examples of our chemical munitions and our technology for destroying chemical weapons. Finally, to put an end to the West's insinuations that the USSR has a manifold superiority in chemical weapons stocks, we took the unprecedented step (which no one else has taken yet) of announcing that our chemical weapons stocks do not exceed 50,000 tonnes.

The other side has also taken certain steps to create an atmosphere of trust. In November the United States invited our experts to visit its military chemical installation at Toole (Utah) and also demonstrated standard examples of its chemical munitions and a chemical weapons destruction facility.

Despite the international public's protests, however, the United States still began the batch production of binary chemical weapons. What can the reason for that be? Why should the United States create a weapon which is banned under a convention which may be finalized before 1988 is over?

The USSR Foreign Ministry statement of 26 December 1987 gave a principled assessment of these U.S. actions. I should like to stress that the statement reflects the Soviet Union's serious concern at the fate of the chemical weapons talks. We are not going to reply to the beginning of the implementation of the binary program by slamming the door shut, but we are issuing a warning about its negative consequences. The development of events at the talks will depend largely on the stance that the United States takes there.

[TRUD] It has been reported that the position taken by France is also hindering an accord. What are the facts here?

[Karpov] The fact is, that in the summer of 1987 the French delegation to the talks put forward a proposal providing for the right of states to develop and produce chemical weapons even after the convention enters into force. Why? Apparently so as to have the opportunity to maintain a certain stock of these weapons ready for use during the 10-year chemical weapons destruction period. The French representatives try to justify their proposal by saying that otherwise the convention will enshrine the inequality between those who have chemical weapons (and, thus, will only destroy them in full 10 years after the convention comes into force) and those who still do not have such weapons.

It is our belief that the question of equal security among states with and states without chemical weapons should be resolved not by granting the latter the legal right to produce such weapons themselves. It is necessary to take the kind of measures which, from the very beginning of the convention's operation, would make the use of chemical weapons impossible in practice. That is what we are proposing at the talks.

In concrete terms, we advocate that immediately after the convention goes into force, all stocks of chemical weapons and their storage locations should be declared. There must be strict international on-site monitoring [kontrol na meste] of those dumps, and the removal of chemical weapons from those dumps would be prohibited except for the purpose of transferring them (again with international monitoring) to the facility where they were to be destroyed.

Our approach is receiving support at the talks and is reflected in the draft convention. As for the French proposal, so far none of the participants in the talks has declared support for it.

[TRUD] Could you describe the present state of play at the talks? Many readers are particularly interested in the question of whether all types of chemical weapons will be banned under the convention, including binary weapons, and whether the production of chemical weapons will be banned and the corresponding monitoring [kontrol] applied not only to state but also to privately-owned enterprises?

[Karpov] All the main questions of the convention have been virtually settled at the talks: the scope of the ban, questions relating to the destruction of chemical weapons stocks and the industrial base for their production, and questions of verification. Results have also been achieved regarding an accord on the question of how to ensure the non-production of chemical weapons in the civil chemical industry. The latest round of talks which ended in Geneva in December 1987 was also beneficial in that respect.

As for the scope of the ban, there is a common understanding at the talks that the convention should prohibit all chemical weapons, including binary weapons. Until recently all the participants in the talks, including the United States, shared this position.

However, as the beginning of the production of binary chemical weapons in the United States drew nearer, we sensed that the Americans had been trying to exclude binary weapons from the convention's ban. From the U.S. side, we began hearing various ideas to the effect that it was unreasonable to be left without any chemical weapons at all, that it was necessary to keep some chemical weapons stocks for the purposes of deterrence, particularly with regard to "third" countries, and so on. Clearly this is a concern not so much for security (after all, if no one has chemical weapons, who is there to "deter") as for the fate of the binary program. At the official talks so far the U.S. representatives have not openly opposed the inclusion of all chemical weapons in the convention. But they are now clearly slowing down the course of the talks.

As for the inclusion in the convention not only of state but also of privately-owned enterprises, in our view this question should also be resolved unambiguously. The convention cannot contain two different regimes for enterprises under this or that form of ownership. The convention must apply to all equally.

In this respect, too, however, the U.S. side has clearly been maneuvering recently, as M.S. Gorbachev pointed out in Washington. They began saying to us that private companies could reject the verification measures provided by the convention, which in turn could call its actual conclusion into question. It appears that this maneuvering is also linked to the U.S. desire to gain time to carry out the binary program.

So, as you can see, there is still a sharp struggle ahead on the problem of banning chemical weapons. We are confident, however, that if there is no backing down from the positions already agreed upon, and if the United States continues to act in keeping with the accords reached during the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington, the convention can be concluded as early as this year. There are no insuperable obstacles. It is a question of political will and of a real readiness to accept the full and effectively verifiable destruction of chemical weapons.

Progress Toward Talks on Conventional Arms
PM061501 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
5 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Major General V. Tatarnikov "To Levels of Reasonable Sufficiency. The Reduction of Conventional Arms Arsenals Comes Next"]

[Text] The latest round of consultations between representatives of Warsaw Pact and NATO states on elaborating a mandate for future talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments throughout Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals has ended in Vienna. It must be explained that the elaboration of the mandate is an extremely important stage, since the aims and main terms of the talks are defined during this stage.

So what has been achieved in the course of the consultations? First of all, it must be noted that the summit meeting in Washington between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan favorably influenced their course. Now that an accord has been achieved on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, the problem of the reduction of armed forces and armaments and also of tactical nuclear means is coming to the fore in Europe.

The sides have come very close to finalizing a provision on the aims of the talks and methods of achieving them. Important provisions aimed at ensuring that the mandate reflects the idea of mutual and substantial cuts in armed forces and armaments are being finalized. A provision has been laid down stating that the talks will be held within the framework of the all-European process. A fundamentally important accord has been reached to the effect that the future talks on the reduction of conventional arms in Europe will begin as early as 1988. These facts indicate that the NATO countries too are interested in talks which are to result in a lowering of the level of military confrontation in Europe and a strengthening of security on the continent.

At the same time, serious differences in the sides' positions on fundamental questions were exposed in the course of the consultations.

The NATO countries are still insisting that conventional armed forces and conventional arms alone should be discussed at the talks. They are not prepared to accept our proposal that interested states should examine in the course of the talks questions pertaining to the whole range of problems connected with limiting and reducing both conventional arms and tactical nuclear weapons. At the same time, they agree that the aim of the talks is to achieve stability and security in Europe.

But is it possible to achieve stability and security in Europe if only ground forces are reduced and the constantly developing class of tactical missiles, artillery, and tactical strike aviation are left out of consideration? Any person who has any common sense will reply—No! This kind of approach would undermine stability rather than strengthen it.

In present conditions tactical nuclear weapons cannot be separated from conventional arms, the absolute majority of which are dual-purpose systems. For instance, aircraft, artillery, and tactical missiles can be used today to deliver both conventional and nuclear charges. Therefore to exclude dual-purpose systems from the agenda of the talks would be to admit right now that the future talks will not discuss the reduction of strike aviation, artillery, or tactical missiles. The talks would thus be doomed to fruitlessness.

In the light of this, the Warsaw Pact delegations have suggested a sensible and correct solution—reducing the sides' armed forces and armaments, including dual-purpose systems, throughout Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Attaching paramount importance to conventional arms, the NATO countries are proposing that balance be established primarily in terms of tanks and artillery. As for the question of reducing tactical strike aviation, they would like to start discussing that only during the second stage of the talks and to sidestep tactical nuclear arms altogether. In this, they proceed from the premise that the Warsaw Pact has more tanks and artillery, yet they coyly neglect to mention the fact that NATO has more strike aviation and combat helicopters.

The Warsaw Pact countries are proposing that existing advantages be eliminated on both sides. In practical terms, this could be done in the form of a package of reduction proposals which would provide for a kind of tradeoff [razmena] in types of weapons in which the sides have an advantage without impairing the overall balance of forces. For instance, it would be possible to simultaneously eliminate the excesses in tactical strike aviation in the case of NATO and of tanks in the case of the Warsaw Pact countries.

The elimination of the imbalances in armaments between the sides would normalize the situation and strengthen trust and stability. The next step, as proposed in the Budapest Appeal of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, could be armed force reductions of 100,000-150,000 men on each side over the course of 1-2 years, and of approximately 25% of the existing level of forces (around 500,000 men on each side) within the following 5-7 years.

Further reductions and reorganizations [preobrazovaniya] of armed forces and armaments should pursue the aim of ensuring that the sides retain only such forces and means as are necessary for defense rather than the conduct of offensive operations.

Another important aspect which must be reflected in the mandate of the future talks is the elimination of imbalances and the reductions, which must be mutual and substantial. The Warsaw Pact countries believe that the provision for mutual reductions of armed forces and armaments and the mutual elimination of the imbalances and inequalities which exist in certain elements of the armed forces must be clearly reflected in the mandate. As M.S. Gorbachev said at his press conference in Washington, the talks will only be meaningful if they are concerned with mutual and simultaneous reductions and the elimination of imbalances and asymmetries. Only in this way can generally acceptable solutions be found which do not prejudice the security interests of any side or participating state.

This approach takes account of the most sensitive points in observing a balance between the security interests of both sides and all European states. Unfortunately, the stance of the NATO countries on this question is frozen in its state of more than 1 year ago. There is no sign of a constructive approach to this problem on their part.

Quite a few complex problems remain to be solved before the mandate is agreed. It is necessary, for instance, to define the geographical zone of the talks and to resolve the question of participation in the future European disarmament forum. At the consultations between Warsaw Pact and NATO countries, the socialist countries' delegations are seeking to ensure that the just demands of neutral and nonaligned European countries that they be allowed to participate directly in the talks in the future are taken into account.

The question of verification measures is also still outstanding. However, here there is a certain rapprochement of viewpoints and there is a possibility of elaborating acceptable forms of monitoring [proverka] the implementation of accords.

Despite the fact that a whole series of questions remains to be agreed upon, most participating states are confident that the mandate for the talks will be adopted and that the talks will open in 1988. The peoples of Europe are eagerly awaiting this, since the problem of cutting back the overcrowded arms arsenals in Europe to the levels of reasonable sufficiency required for defense is next in line.

Redman on Authenticity of SS-20 Photograph
LD071014 Moscow TASS in English 1003 GMT
7 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 7 TASS—Charles Redman, a U.S. State Department spokesman, has refuted at a briefing Wednesday, the allegations by congressman Jack Kemp regarding the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

Earlier, Kemp, a New York Republican, forwarded a message to U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz claiming that photographs of the SS-20 missile supplied by the USSR to the U.S. side was supposedly a forgery and, at the same time, expressed doubts concerning the consequences this treaty will have for the U.S. national security. "Neither of those allegations has any basis in fact whatsoever", Redman said.

"We have no reason to doubt the authenticity of the SS-20 photograph given to us by the Soviet Union. Like all the other photographs that we have received in conjunction with the memorandum of understanding, it has been analyzed, and we don't have any reason to doubt the accuracy or the authenticity of the SS-20 photograph", Redman stressed.

"On the question of the so-called 'caving in' to Soviet demands, that's simply inaccurate. We were, and we are, fully satisfied with the outcome as negotiated", Redman went on.

Zaytsev Briefs Correspondents on Disarmament
LD062159 Moscow TASS in English 1806 GMT
6 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—"We are for the INF (Intermediate-Range Nuclear Force) Treaty to be ratified in the next two or three months," Grigoriy Zaytsev, a Soviet expert on disarmament problems, said here today.

Zaytsev, who is a member of the Soviet delegation to talks with the United States in Geneva on nuclear and space arms, was speaking at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press center at a briefing for Japanese correspondents, which was devoted to the results of the Washington summit.

"The INF Treaty has been submitted in this country to the Supreme Soviet (parliament). Relevant commissions there are studying it and making official requests for explanations concerning various provisions," he said.

Answering questions, the Soviet expert said a joint Soviet-U.S. draft treaty concerning 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms was already on the negotiating table in Geneva. It had been discussed for four months now and "it can be said that certain progress has been made" toward the final version, Zaytsev said.

Speaking of the issue of reducing conventional weapons, he said talks in that field were currently deadlocked.

"It is very hard to move towards eliminating nuclear weapons without cutting the knot in the issue of scaling down conventional arms," the expert observed.

He said that in keeping with understandings reached in Washington, instructions had been issued to activate the talks on cuts in conventional weapons, in particular the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe.

"But the West has to this day not given any reply to the proposals made on this score in Budapest by the Socialist nations grouped in the Warsaw treaty organization," Zaytsev said.

Replying to a question about forthcoming talks between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, the Soviet expert recalled a tentative understanding on a series of meetings between them.

Scientist Interviewed on Nuclear Test Monitoring
LD070850 Moscow TASS in English 0811 GMT
7 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 7 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

A group of U.S. Government experts on nuclear testing will soon visit the Soviet nuclear test site in the area of Semipalatinsk in Kazakhstan and in the end of this month Soviet specialists will pay a reciprocal visit to the U.S. nuclear test site in Nevada.

This correspondent met with Professor Mikhail Gohberg, a deputy director of the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of the Physics of the Earth, and asked him to comment on these developments and also on an ASSOCIATED PRESS report quoting a U.S. Administration spokesman as saying that this would be the first official visit by U.S. experts to the nuclear test range in Kazakhstan and that what the Soviet scientists would see in Nevada would depend on the measure of openness to be allowed by the Soviet side at Semipalatinsk.

"Speaking of government delegations, this will indeed be a first trip," Gohberg said. "But during the unilateral Soviet moratorium on underground nuclear tests the site was visited by a group of newsmen, including Americans."

"Since June 1986," he added, "Soviet-U.S. seismic monitoring stations have been functioning in the area of the testing range. Last September they were visited by a very representative delegation of U.S. congressmen (Tom Downey, Jim Moody and Robert Carr) accompanied by congressional experts and our colleagues, American geophysicists."

"All of them," the Soviet scientist continued, "were satisfied with what they were able to see. So, speaking of openness, I am positive there will be no problems with it."

Asked about the progress of work to fulfil an agreement between the Soviet Academy of Sciences and the U.S. natural resources Defense Council (a non-governmental research organization), which provides for setting up seismic monitoring stations around the test site in Nevada that will be similar to those around the Semipalatinsk range, Gohberg said:

"Work has been going on, but more slowly, since our American colleagues have run into purely organizational difficulties.

"Until recently, the U.S. Government did not show an interest in our work. Soviet representatives were denied visas and, when these were finally issued, that was made on the condition that the scientists from the USSR would only meet with their colleagues at universities and research centers.

"The area of the testing range remained off limits to us all that time. Nevertheless, U.S. researchers installed seismic equipment around the site (in keeping with the agreement, we are using U.S.-made instruments both at Semipalatinsk and in Nevada) and obtained material planned to be had under the first phase of the experiment.

"The material has been passed over to us and we are now processing it in a parallel effort with the Americans," the Soviet geophysicist said.

Recalling that full-scale Soviet-U.S. talks for limiting and eventually halting nuclear testing had begun in November 1987, he said the possibilities of verifying the yields of underground nuclear explosions and monitoring a nuclear test ban had long been a stumbling block.

"Our experiment, which is now in its second year, has proved the possibility of recording and, if need be, sizing up the blasts of even the minimum yields (under 0.01 kilotons).

"The U.S. congressmen last September, for example, witnessed how a special non-nuclear test explosion with an yield of just 10 tons was registered. Importantly, the shock wave from that explosion went against the background of a wave from an earthquake and was separated well.

"So in that dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States on control over nuclear testing has become possible there is a contribution by the scientists of the two countries as well," Gohberg said.

Asked to comment on an AP report citing an official U.S. spokesman as saying parts of the Nevada range where "Star Wars" tests were being probably conducted would be closed to the Soviet experts in Nevada, he said:

"It is difficult for me to comment on this aspect, but I think that if we are going to limit the yields of nuclear explosions with the final aim of ending them altogether, all tests will have to be included, without any exception for any program."

Petrovskiy on UN Role in Disarmament

*LD070026 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1135 GMT 6 Jan 88*

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Fedorovich Petrovskiy by foreign policy commentator Igor Pavlovich Charikov, on "The Place and Role of the UN Organization in the Construction of a Nuclear-Free World"—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Petrovskiy] The opportunity which has opened up as a result of the Soviet-U.S. accord on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, the accord on eliminating them leads to great prospects for movement toward a nuclear-free nonviolent world not only at bilateral but also at multilateral forums.

All the diplomatic machinery is currently going into motion. The UN Organization has an important, I would even say a unique, place in this machinery. It is the only organization in the modern world in which in essence all states on our planet are represented. [passage omitted]

As is well-known, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev addressed a special article to the last session. In his article he put forward specific ideas on how the UN Organization could promote the construction of a nuclear-free world in practical terms. In particular a great deal of attention at the session was drawn to the idea put forward by our leader on creating under United Nations aegis an international monitoring body which would follow measures being undertaken in the area of disarmament, including nuclear disarmament, and also measures to prevent conflicts from arising in the contemporary world. The idea was also put forward that, for example, a center for reducing the danger of war be created under the secretary general, a center which would act as a kind of body for preventive diplomacy, that is, it would not engage in settling existing situations but would act rather as a sort of preventive center in this regard. In our view this center could be linked through direct lines of communication with Permanent Member States of the Security Council, that is nuclear powers and with the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement.

So in the nuclear-free world, which in our view will be built during the course of this century, the role of the United Nations would be increased still further. We use as our starting point the fact that the UN Organization would here take on the function of guarantor of a nuclear-free world, that is it would bear responsibility for observing all accords adopted and ensuring that the basic conditions of a nuclear-free world, conditions linked with universal recognition of the need to stop nuclear tests, for nonproliferation of nuclear weapons were observed by all states.

But I would like to say here, and this is an important point, that simultaneously with the elimination of nuclear weapons and the growth of the role of the UN Organization its democratization will also occur,

because the existence of nuclear weapons and connected with this the existence of a nuclear club is by no means a sign of democracy in international relations.

[Charikov] It is my impression, Vladimir Fyodorovich, that the 42d session occupies a special place among other forums of the UN Organization and not only because it coincided in time with the finale of Soviet-U.S. talks and with the signing of the Washington accord. The impression is forming that this UN Organization session has shown the most active interest in resolving disarmament problems on a global scale.

[Petrovskiy] You are quite right there. I too think that from all my long experience of participating in sessions of the UN General Assembly this was no ordinary session. I would say that this was a landmark session, a session of renewal. One can now say that the shoots of the new political thinking have deeply penetrated the consciousness of member states of the UN Organization and not only their consciousness. They have begun to materialize in real, practical matters.

One extremely graphic and I would say very convincing manifestation of this is that the UN Organization, on the initiative of the socialist countries, approved the concept of forming an all-embracing system of peace and security, a concept which arises from the fact that in the present nuclear-space reality there is no other way of resolving international problems, except by political means, except by joint efforts on the part of all states. This decision creates a platform for future collective actions by the UN Organizations and mobilizes the efforts of UN member states toward contributing to building a nuclear-free, nonviolent world.

The other landmark decision, I would say, is the declaration on the nonuse of force which was unanimously adopted at this session of the UN General Assembly. It is well-known that this issue was discussed at the United Nations for almost 12 years, if not more, and a great deal of effort was required to formulate this principle of rejecting the use of force or threatening to use it, as a basic principle of contemporary international relations which are marked by the interdependence of states.

Another characteristic feature is that not only the decision on the declaration on the nonuse of force but also a whole series of other very important decisions were unanimously adopted at this General Assembly session. In any case, approximately 40 to 70 decisions on disarmament matters were unanimously adopted. That indicates that the session itself and the main states participating in this session recognized the need to put an end to confrontation and start acting together.

I would say that the very style of the session was also a landmark in the sense that fruitless polemic began to give way to serious, businesslike respect for the opinion of the other participant in the discussion. I think that is an important sign of the times. But it became possible

thanks to the fact that real processes have begun in the area of disarmament and thanks to the fact that the Soviet Union has honestly and openly put forward an extensive program of action which envisages a place for each state.

Here I have in mind the article by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev addressed to the 42d session of the UN General Assembly.

[Charikov] Vladimir Fedorovich, when you talked about the unanimity of the delegations which took part in the work of the 42d session of the UN General Assembly and said that the overwhelming majority of resolutions concerning questions of war and peace were adopted unanimously nonetheless there was, to put it mildly, a certain, if not opposition, then at least passivity, on the part of several Western states on the adoption of these decisions, on the fact that these decisions were really resounding from a highly prestigious international body. First and foremost I have in mind the United States of America and their position in the United Nations.

[Petrovskiy] In fact what you say did take place at the session and that, I think, indicates that the coming into being of the new political thinking is quite a complex process. There is machinery which slows things down when restructuring is being implemented within countries and outside too machinery slowing things down operates. In this case, on the part of the United States, there was a very strong attempt to hinder the rejection of the stereotypes of the past and a switch to a position of joint actions with other countries. It is true that in certain cases they were compelled to go along together and that is not a bad example in certain resolutions. However, nonetheless in most cases the Americans voted against the will of the international community and it is highly significant that at this session they were completely isolated and on over 50 resolutions voted with only one or two countries. Well, let's say we take the area of disarmament, they voted alone against such resolutions as the one on banning new types of mass destruction weaponry, preventing the arms race in space and the start of talks on naval weapons. In citing these facts we would of course like to draw the attention of the United States to the fact that in international affairs one must not fail to take into consideration the will of the international community.

Indeed, take the position of let's say the United States. It is a state which is a Security Council Permanent Member. That is, a state on which the will of the international community has placed a special responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. So I think what is required of a state which has been invested with such trust from all the other members of the international community is primarily that it should pursue its policy in accordance both with the will of the international community and in accordance with the realities of the interdependent world in which we are living.

I would simply like to hope that this tendency which emerged noticeably at the session, the tendency toward internationalizing the resolution of all the problems which arise, the tendency toward seeking joint solutions, toward seeking joint actions will gain strength to an increasing degree and in the final analysis hope that good sense will triumph in the policy of the United States as well. [passage omitted]

[Charikov] Vladimir Fedorovich, I would like to ask you this. You were talking about the role and place of the United Nations in moving toward a nuclear-free world. In that case what are the prospects, the further prospects for United Nations activity in this direction from our point of view? How would you put them?

[Petrovskiy] We think the United Nations and all the international organizations connected with it should increase their contribution to building a nuclear-free world. What does that mean in practical terms? In practical terms it means primarily that the UN Organization and in particular the third special session on disarmament which is coming next year should elaborate upon an agreed program which would clearly indicate the ways and means of building a nuclear free world. Second, I think this third special session of the UN General Assembly could be a very great stimulus to ensuring that the enormous amount of work which was done on elaborating a convention on banning chemical weapons is completed in the coming year and bears practical result. Third, we think the third special session on disarmament could formulate concrete opportunities for achieving results on ending the conventional arms race and stopping the arms race at sea. Finally, the UN General Assembly in its special session could also finish and polish the already existing machinery for holding talks on disarmament.

In this regard special attention should obviously be paid to the place and role of the Geneva Disarmament Conference [passage omitted].

At the Geneva conference there is more than an exchange of opinions—concrete accords are reached. One graphic example of that is the work done on concluding a convention on banning chemical weapons. [passage omitted]

[Charikov] Vladimir Fedorovich, we are of course including not only nuclear weapons as such in the concept of a nuclear-free world but also obviously other mass destruction systems.

[Petrovskiy] That is absolutely true. Indeed, a nuclear free world, the concept of a nuclear free world expresses the quintessence of the world which we are seeking, a world free of mass destruction weapons. In just a few days, on 15 January, we will reach the second anniversary of the statement by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev

advancing the program for security through disarmament. That program envisages, along with the elimination of nuclear weapons, the elimination of mass destruction weapons and chemical weapons in particular this century and the reduction of conventional weapons to the level of sensible sufficiency. That is our vision of the world by the end of this century. [passage omitted]

Just 2 years have now gone by since then and this program has changed from being described as utopia to being a practical reality. The Soviet-U.S. accord has shown that nuclear disarmament is completely feasible, completely feasible in practice. Furthermore the elimination of two types of nuclear weapon opens up the prospect of further progress.

Indeed, today we are approaching concluding an agreement on a 50% reduction in strategic offensive weapons and reaching an accord on observing the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and we use as a starting point that the year 1988 which has just begun may be the year these accords are achieved.

Today the program for security through disarmament put forward by Mikhail Sergeyevich in 1986 is being perceived as a concrete program for action. I would also like to stress that it is all the more weighty since this is a program which formulates not only the desire, the aspiration of the Soviet Union, and its interest, but it is also a very realistic program. It takes into consideration the desires of all other states and is compiled taking into consideration those opinions which were expressed by states participating in the international community at various forums, including the United Nations.

Crowe Call for Pacific Dialogue Hailed

PM061555 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Professor V. Lukin: "The Asian and Pacific Region: Dialogue Essential: Regarding Comments by U.S. Admiral William Crowe"]

[Text] The prevailing ossified criteria of international politics are today undergoing change. The old forms are collapsing. The impossible is becoming possible.

The summit meeting in Washington and the conclusion of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles indicate, in addition to everything else, that nuclear disarmament has turned from hypothesis to deed, the reality of which has been demonstrated in practice. The world will soon have fewer lethal nuclear weapons—a small reduction but a reduction for all that—and part of that reduction applies to the Asian and Pacific region. Of course, this is only the first step toward freeing mankind and the Asian and Pacific part of it from the nuclear threat. Here many people living in Asia and along the

Pacific littoral are now asking what impact the Washington summit meeting has on the political system in the Asian and Pacific region and on strengthening peace and security in that enormous part of our planet.

Some people are saying that its significance is minimal, since it is predominantly concerned with European problems, whereas sea-based nuclear systems are the chief source of nuclear threat in the Asian and Pacific region. As for security problems in the broad sense, the main problem there are various crises, territorial disputes, and so forth, that is to say, issues atypical of Europe. Hence, a number of experts and commentators, including Americans, conclude that the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles has little impact on the region.

Such a standpoint is scarcely justified. First, the Soviet Union's voluntary scrapping of an element of its nuclear potential in the Asian and Pacific region is bound to have a beneficial effect on the overall regional situation. It is true, however, that this initial step can and must act as a catalyst for serious regional dialogue on nuclear questions. The Soviet Union has proposed such dialogue and expounded—in M.S. Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech in July 1986 and in his interview in the Indonesian newspaper MERDEKA a year ago—its understanding of potential themes and areas for this dialogue. Silence on the part of the main potential dialogue partners or statements along the lines that Soviet proposals are "asymmetrical" and benefit it alone have been the response.

It is, generally speaking, pretty difficult to discover in the history of world diplomacy (as, incidentally, in the history of market trading contacts) an example where a side proposing to start negotiations on any deal has initially put forward proposals that are one-sidedly beneficial to the opponent and deliberately nonbeneficial to itself. Balance is, as a rule, established during the actual negotiations. Which, incidentally, is what occurred during the complex and protracted talks on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. It would therefore be natural to expect the Soviet proposals described as "asymmetrical" to be countered by proposals from the other side. It is scarcely to be expected that the Soviet Union would immediately find such proposals absolutely objective, ideal, and acceptable. Negotiations during which the "mutually asymmetrical" positions would have to gradually draw closer together would obviously be the next stage.

However, this natural sequence of events has not yet been accepted by the U.S. and Japanese leadership. Reluctance to discuss nuclear disarmament in the Asian and Pacific region was previously justified by the "unilateral deployment" of Soviet SS 20's in the Asian part of the USSR. Now, since the signing of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, which envisages their unilateral reduction in eastern regions of the USSR, there is no rational argument at all in favor of refraining from talks to cut nuclear potentials in the

Asian and Pacific regions. After all, one scarcely describes as rational the stance adopted by a number of U.S. politicians and experts who argue roughly as follows: The United States and its allies possess a large strategic advantage over the USSR in the Asian and Pacific region and there is therefore no point in holding talks on military and political questions there. All that is needed is for this regional superiority to be maintained.

Logically such a stance amounts to an invitation to the other side to get involved in a race with the aim of eliminating the U.S. superiority. This is tantamount to an appeal to replace the global arms race by a regional arms race.

The thesis according to which the West's position on the Asian and Pacific region is firm and unshakable and there is therefore no need for collective discussion on problems of peace and security is unconvincing, to say the least. A complex and highly unstable situation, from the security standpoint, exists in the region. It is caused by the presence of three nuclear powers in direct contact with one another and a number of acute crisis situations, each of which has already led to large-scale military conflict.

This is a very dangerous combination and demands that work begin as quickly as possible to construct reliable and mutually acceptable confidence measures among nuclear powers in the Asian and Pacific region and subsequently clear the region of nuclear weapons. Of course, this work must be carried out in conjunction with energetic efforts designed to create a political situation favorable to solving long-standing crisis situations and preventing new ones from arising. Recent events in the "Kampuchean area" and, in particular, the withdrawal of the latest contingent of SRV Armed Forces from Kampuchea as part of the program for the complete withdrawal of troops by 1990 and the meeting in Paris between Norodom Sihanouk and Hun Sen, which marked the beginning of an exchange of opinions between the opposing sides, graphically illustrate the realism and promise of such work.

In short, dialogue is necessary and possible. Given this situation, statements made by Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, at a meeting of the influential U.S. public organization the Asia Society, are noteworthy. Conceptually his speech, delivered immediately after the end of the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington, is little different from traditional

official statements made by the U.S. Administration on the region's military and political problems. Thus Admiral Crowe maintains that the basic principle of U.S. Pacific strategy, the principle of so-called forward basing (that is to say, the constant maintenance of major U.S. naval and ground forces equipped with nuclear weapons in immediate proximity to Soviet borders), has been completely vindicated. Let us leave historians (including Americans) to make their own judgment as to what extent this system, ruinous to the U.S. economy, is justified. We are now talking about political realities. Here the most interesting point in Admiral Crowe's speech is that the idea of dialogue on confidence measures is recognized at this level as being "worthy of attention" for the first time.

Admiral Crowe is the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and an experienced military man who was for a long time at the head of the U.S. Armed Forces in the Pacific. He sees more clearly perhaps than anyone else that serious dialogue on confidence-building measures is as necessary in the Asian and Pacific region as in Europe. Our countries are immediate neighbors there and Soviet and U.S. naval forces come into close contact with each other on the enormous expanses of the ocean there. In the opinion of a number of authoritative experts naval nuclear potential, especially that on missile-carrying submarines, is considerably more autonomous than ground-based or air-borne potential and its command and communication system less reliable, particularly in crisis and various unusual situations. The development of effective confidence measures there is consequently vitally necessary.

It is difficult to divorce dialogue on confidence measures from the context of general discussion on problems of a military and political nature. That was how it was in Europe and how it will clearly also be in the Asian and Pacific region. Admiral Crowe's speech shows understanding of these factors. He rightly considers that the military situation prevailing in the region could become the subject of discussion in the event of further expansion of ties between our countries. In the admiral's opinion, this question should be examined at governmental rather than military departmental level.

Let us make things clear: A decision by one government—the U.S. Government—is all that is needed for dialogue to begin. The Soviet Government has clearly and plainly stated its readiness for such.

United States & Canada

Reagan Refutes Reports on Withdrawing Gulf Ships LD062216 Moscow TASS in English 2207 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 6 TASS—President Reagan refuted reports, which appeared in the USA, on plans to cut the number of U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf. This was reported, among others, by the CBS TV company referring to sources which asked for anonymity. Today, requested at the White House by a journalist to confirm his intention to give an order to withdraw several major warships from the Gulf, President Reagan replied in the negative.

Reagan Greet Soviet Children Visiting U.S. LD070942 Moscow TASS in English 0937 GMT 7 Jan 88

[Text] San Francisco January 7 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan has sent a message of greetings to a group of Soviet children currently staying in San Francisco. They are visiting the United States at the invitation of the Youth Ambassadors of America public organisation.

President Reagan described as "historic" the Treaty on Eliminating all Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Nuclear Missiles.

"General Secretary Gorbachev and I held several days of meetings, and we joined in signing a historic arms treaty eliminating all intermediate-range nuclear missiles from the U.S. and Soviet arsenals," Reagan said.

"We discussed many other issues and made progress on them. But one matter on which we fully agreed is the need for continued exchange programs involving the young people of our two countries," the U.S. President's message said.

Further on Bush National Press Club Speech LD061156 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0854 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Text] Washington, 6 Jan (TASS)—The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was "a major step forward in our relations with the Soviet Union" stated U.S. Vice President George Bush, speaking at the National Press Club on Tuesday. It is my opinion, he pointed out, that the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles should be seen as an extremely important agreement that, for the first time, leads toward reducing, and not simply limiting, nuclear weapons in the world and also envisages strict verification of the terms of the treaty.

"It is not only important that we are eliminating a small proportion of nuclear arsenals, but also that we are moving away from the patterns of the past, from accumulating an ever-increasing number of weapons and toward greater stability and security," stressed Bush. He expressed "firm conviction" that the Soviet-U.S. treaty will be approved by the Senate of the U.S. Congress.

However, several of the things the vice president went on to say did not indicate any aspiration to move away from the "patterns of the past" with regard to other important international problems. For example, he talked of the need to continue to render comprehensive U.S. assistance to counterrevolutionary forces in Nicaragua and Afghanistan, and confirmed his support for the SDI program. He also let it be understood that he considers it necessary to conduct talks with the Soviet Union "from a position of strength."

The address by Bush, who is seeking nomination as Republican Party candidate in this year's presidential elections, was, to judge by all accounts, calculated to gain him political points in the election campaign that is developing now. In speaking in support of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles and in favor of continuing arms control talks, he patently is hoping to win the support of those Americans who are aware of the danger of further spiralling the arms race. In proclaiming his adherence to SDI and eulogizing the "freedom fighters" (that is how Washington terms counterrevolutionaries of all descriptions) the vice president is touching his cap to the right wing.

One of the acute problems Bush will be running into during the election campaign is the matter of his role in the "Irangate" scandal, the secret operation to supply weapons to Iran and redirect part of the funds earned to Nicaraguan rebels. Speaking at the National Press Club, he stated that in the "Iran-Contras" deal, he "supported the President," adding that "it is hard to bring clarity" to this matter.

Bogachev Commentary

LD062240 Moscow TASS in English 1904 GMT
6 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—TASS military news analyst Vladimir Bogachev writes:

High-ranking officials of the U.S. Administration continue to interpret in any way they please provisions of the joint U.S.-Soviet summit statement on the results of the Washington meeting, fully ignoring commitments on the 1972 Anti-Ballistic-Missile Treaty clearly set forth in the statement.

In his speech made at the National Press Club in Washington yesterday, Vice-President George Bush alleged that an "immeasurably safer world" was possible only on condition that "a strategic defensive shield" would be created. Bush quoted only the part of the joint

statement which dealt with the reduction of strategic offensive armaments and preferred not to mention the fact that participants in the Washington meeting had made it clear that they had recognized the organic interrelationship between the reduction of those weapon systems and the observance of the ABM Treaty.

The joint U.S.-Soviet summit statement said: "Taking into account the preparation of the treaty on strategic offensive arms, the leaders of the two countries also instructed their delegations in Geneva to work out an agreement that would commit the sides to observe the ABM Treaty, as signed in 1972...and not to withdraw from the ABM Treaty for a specified period of time".

Bush spoke as though there was no such phrase in the joint statement. Judging by his statement, it is possible to deploy strike space weapons and at the same time to observe the ABM Treaty as signed in 1972.

However, even a brief review of the text of the ABM Treaty and of the main provisions of the U.S. "Star Wars" program make it clear that these are two incompatible, mutually exclusive things. There is a saying in English: "One cannot eat one's cake and have it" which can be applied to this situation. It is logical that one cannot observe the ABM Treaty and at the same time deploy a large-scale anti-ballistic-missile system over the territory of the United States, Europe, Asia and even Africa within the framework of the "Star Wars" program.

The treaty bans the deployment and testing of space-based anti-ballistic-missile systems or component parts, while according to the U.S. SDI program space strike weapons are the basis of a 'cupola' which is to be created over the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

The 1972 treaty bans the creation of an anti-ballistic-missile system for the whole of the national territory, while the "Star Wars" program envisages it.

Apart from all this, it is senseless to reduce strategic offensive armaments on a comparatively limited part of the earth's surface and at the same time to pave the way for ever more dangerous strike weapons systems in boundless outer space.

'New Approach' to Nuclear Testing Praised

OW070129 Moscow Television Service in Russian
2335 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Aleksandr Serikov commentary; from the Novosti newscast]

[Text] The U.S. State Department has announced that an exchange of Soviet and American experts in the field of nuclear tests will take place this month. Our commentary:

[Serikov] Hello, Comrades. Consistent with the arms agreement, a group of American specialists will be departing for our country on 7 January, where they will visit the nuclear testing range near Semipalatinsk in Kazakhstan, while a group of Soviet experts will visit Nevada nuclear testing range on 23-30 January. Thus, the first step toward closer cooperation between the two countries in the area of nuclear energy use is taking place.

Not so long ago, it would have been difficult to imagine that this type of cooperation was even possible. Now, during the exchange of visits, each side will be able to learn about the conditions and actions at the testing range of the other so that later they will be able to conduct joint experiments. These in turn will help to perfect verification of test explosions so as to ensure conditions of the agreement which stipulated that only explosions conducted for peaceful purposes are permitted.

A turn toward such cooperation is an example of a new approach to the solution of international problems as a whole. It is based, in the first place, on mutual trust, better understanding of each other, and sane thinking. That is precisely why the Soviet-American nuclear test talks in Geneva, at which agreement on the exchange of visits of experts was reached, are hailed as a victory of reason and sane thinking.

This is only the beginning of detente in such an important and complex problem as security in a nuclear age. However, this beginning inspires hope that mankind, in the final analysis, will rid itself of the fear of a nuclear catastrophe.

Chemical Laser Test 'Trial Balloon' for SDI

PM061245 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 1

[Dispatch by own correspondent A. Shalnev: "United States: 'Star Wars' Trial Balloon"]

[Text] New York—The United States has carried out the first series of ground tests of a chemical laser which could be used as part of the "Star Wars" system.

The tests, as THE NEW YORK TIMES reports, began 23 December at a proving ground in California belonging to TRW Inc., which is a major Pentagon contractor involved in the implementation of President Reagan's "Strategic Defense Initiative."

The present test of the capabilities of the 2-megawatt laser is the prelude to its being launched into space. It is planned to launch the chemical laser, codenamed Alpha, into outer space as early as the beginning of the next decade in order to really determine how effective it is at destroying enemy ballistic missiles. Specialists consider that the laser could be improved by that time to generate 5 or even 10 megawatts of power.

Alpha is not something new. Its development began before there was any mention of SDI, which, as is well-known, was announced by President Reagan in March 1983. At one time, the Pentagon was generally ready to abandon the chemical laser, considering it not to be of very great potential.

It is politics that has revived Alpha: It attracted Washington's attention again because the administration had begun carrying out tests of SDI components which satisfy the "broad interpretation" of the ABM Treaty while at the same time breaching the universally agreed interpretation of that unlimited-duration treaty signed between the Soviet Union and the United States in 1972. Remember that the "broad interpretation" is an interpretation which removes from the program virtually all the restrictions envisaged by the treaty in the form in which it was signed and then ratified by the USSR Supreme Soviet and the U.S. Senate.

Bent on launching a chemical laser into space, the administration hopes to establish the "broad interpretation" of the treaty as a fait accompli and thereby clear the way for any other tests which breach not just the spirit but the letter of the commitments assumed by the United States 16 years ago.

These could be tests of weapons of much greater power than the chemical laser, a nuclear-pumped laser, for example.

In other words, I see Alpha as a kind of trial balloon. By releasing it Washington intends to make a breach in the ABM Treaty sufficiently wide for the treaty to be declared—as happened with SALT II—"fatally flawed" and thereby "useless."

U.S. Foments Local Conflicts Despite Assurances
PM061419 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
3 Jan 88 Second Edition p 3

[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Observer Aleksandr Golts "Military-Political Review": "Who Benefits From the Bloodshed"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] A map of the world was published in lower grade textbooks in U.S. schools 25 years ago: "Communist countries" were colored black, of course, "non-Communist countries" lily-white, and the others were gray. It seems that this map was firmly imprinted in the minds of plenty of U.S. politicians. They continue to see our multicolored and diverse world exclusively in black-and-white terms of "confrontation" with the USSR. In accordance with this sorry logic, U.S. geostrategists paint black any country where a social revolution has taken place, be it Angola, Nicaragua, or Afghanistan. They regard peoples' desire for a better life and their desire to be rid of colonial and feudal oppression as "Moscow's machinations."

Washington is trying to reverse social progress and restore imperialist domination in developing countries. It is no coincidence that its natural allies in this "battle" include not only Israel, which has committed countless crimes against the Arab peoples, but also the racist RSA. And Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Cambodia, and other countries have had to repulse a real undeclared war which the United States wages with the help of mercenaries, CIA agents, and cutthroats from the Pentagon special forces.

Recent events conclusively expose Washington's true aims. For it is the United States which is the main opponent of national reconciliation and regional settlements. Take Central America. As is well-known, the heads of the Central American states signed the Guatemalan agreements designed to alleviate tension. They talked of the need to begin talks with opposition forces with a view to national reconciliation in each country. One of the most important terms for such reconciliation was above all the cessation of military supplies to anti-government formations.

The U.S. Administration hastened to "doubt" whether the Guatemalan accords can be implemented. Washington itself began straightaway to undermine the agreements. Via outright pressure and unworthy propaganda machinations, the administration forced Congress to continue financing supplies to the bandits, and the contras, executing their masters' wishes, began on obviously fabricated pretexts to repeatedly disrupt the talks which the Sandinist government had begun. A few days ago the Somozists organized an attack on mining settlements in the north of the country. Their attacks were repulsed but the blood of peaceful inhabitants was shed once again. And the United States bears the blame for this.

The same sinister handiwork can also be detected in the fueling of the situation around Afghanistan, whose government consistently implements a policy of national reconciliation. "No reconciliation!"—direct orders ring out to the dushmans from the U.S. capital and certain other Western capitals. Matters have gone so far that Britain's foreign secretary recently made a statement in which he rejected the policy of reconciliation... on behalf of the Afghans. The U.S. President's statement regarding Afghanistan is also imbued with provocative appeals. After this, what is the worth of the supposedly sincere words of regret for the casualties of regional wars?

The demands addressed to the USSR regarding the withdrawal of the limited contingent of Soviet troops seem quite hypocritical in this context. For it is well-known that a political decision has been adopted on this score. The timetable has also been named—12 months. The Soviet Union thinks that the time for the withdrawal of the troops must be at the same time the beginning of the cessation of aid to the dushmans in the form of

weapons and finance. People in Washington have preferred to disregard this. They are continuing to fork out billions of dollars to the dushmans.

The operations which U.S. intelligence is conducting against Afghanistan have assumed such scope that you can in no way call them clandestine. A U.S. Administration spokesman recently admitted that CIA staffers are giving the anti-Afghan formations all kinds of help, including training in the use of modern weapons. According to Afghan Defense Ministry data, approximately 50 foreign military advisers were among the bandits who tried to cut off the district of Khowst from the country. It is permissible to ask how all this activity designed to exacerbate a regional conflict accords with the aim enshrined in the Soviet-U.S. joint declaration at the summit "to help sides involved in regional conflicts to find peaceful solutions promoting their independence, freedom, and security." As we can see, the United States is at present acting in the directly opposite direction to this. Attention is also drawn by the fact that China, while stating its readiness "to make persistent efforts for a fair, sensible political solution of the Afghan problem," is at the same time reaffirming its intention to continue "firm support" for the antigovernment forces which, with external assistance, are opposing such a political solution and are against national reconciliation and the cessation of military operations.

At the same time, the continuation of regional conflicts also has an extremely adverse effect on the overall international climate. Incidentally, the above Soviet-U.S. declaration directly indicated the ever-increasing significance of the settlement of such conflicts for improving East-West relations.

I think that extreme right-wing forces may see these conflicts as their chance to return the United States to "cold war" trenches. It cannot be ruled out that these forces may, with the help of the special services, embark on some large-scale provocation in order to wreck the development of Soviet-U.S. dialogue. Regional conflicts provide an opportunity for such a maneuver. That is why they must be urgently settled. And this must be done both in the interests of the peoples of developing countries and also in the interests of international security as a whole. "We are now witnessing an indisputable desire on the part of the world community to resolve regional conflicts by political means," M.S. Gorbachev stressed at the press conference in Washington. "...This gives the USSR and the United States—the two countries on which a great deal depends—the chance to really do something to resolve these burning problems of world politics." This chance must not be missed.

Gromyko Receives Young U.S. Political Leaders
LD062328 Moscow TASS in English 1957 GMT
6 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—Andrey Gromyko today received in the Kremlin a large group of representatives of the American Council of Young Political

Leaders (ACYPL), who are in this country at the invitation of the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR.

He told them in detail about the Soviet Union's efforts for disarmament and about the path that has led as a result of talks between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan to the signature of a treaty between the two countries for eliminating their intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles.

Such treaties made history. Gromyko stressed, adding that the INF Treaty was unique in the chronicle of mankind.

"You are young people, young political leaders, and this means that you should not be the last to think about how to remove the nuclear sword threatening humanity," he said.

He added that the position taken by the U.S. Administration as it had decided to sign the treaty demonstrated that it, too, was aware of the extent of the nuclear danger.

"This is why we have every reason to say that an important historical milestone has been reached in the process of nuclear disarmament.

"We would like to believe also that the understandings reached in Washington will be fulfilled by both our countries and that the forthcoming talks on the reduction of strategic offensive arms will be successful as well," Gromyko said.

He said the principal goal of Soviet foreign policy was to further the process of nuclear disarmament and the Soviet Union would do everything to facilitate progress to the ideal—general and complete disarmament.

Gromyko said that imposing task should be fulfilled regardless of "the difference between our systems or which party is its representative in the presidential office in your country".

"I would like to remark here," he added, "that nobody has the right to interfere in the domestic affairs of other nations. Domestic affairs are a concern of the people of the particular countries, and them alone."

"It would be in vain to look for any cracks or chinks among us, as some of your observers do. The Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, the Central Committee itself and our party, which has a membership of nearly 20 million, are a political monolith," Gromyko said.

He stressed the particular importance of contacts between young Soviet and American people and systematic contacts between the two countries' higher legislatures—the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and U.S. Congress.

The participants in the meeting discussed also other pressing issues of international affairs and bilateral relations.

U.S.-USSR Fishing Cooperation Continues

*LD061342 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian
1014 GMT 6 Jan 88*

[Text] Nakhodka, 6 Jan (TASS)—Soviet trawlers from the Maritime Kray, Sakhalin and Kamchatka arrived in the port of Dutch Harbor in the Aleutian Islands today.

For 10 years the all-union association Dalryba has been sending its sailors to work with the Soviet-U.S. company on marine resources. During the 1988 fishing season the company will make several expeditions in the U.S. economic zone. Cod, plaice, and hake will be fished.

In Dutch Harbor the Far Eastern ships took on board U.S. experts to observe the fishing rules in the 200-mile zone of their country, as provided for in the agreement. A U.S. fishing fleet has also arrived here. The ships' captains examined their joint tasks and means of overcoming the difficulties of the forthcoming fishing season.

Canada Shows 'Dual Approach' to SDI

*PM061141 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 4*

[S. Mushkaterov article: "Canada: 'Dual' Approach to SDI"]

[Text] "After a careful study of the problem, the Canadian Government has concluded that participation at an intergovernmental level in research on SDI does not accord with our country's policy and priorities...."

These words from a statement by Canadian Prime Minister B. Mulroney in September 1985 have ceased to correspond to the actual state of affairs. Recently local newspapers have increasingly often carried reports that Canadian state corporations are developing cooperation with U.S. institutions concerned with implementing SDI projects. "Atomic Energy of Canada," for example, has concluded a contract with Pentagon representatives envisaging participation in developing [razrabotka] laser space weapons. Another state firm—the National Research Center—provided equipment to the "SAM Optics" company, which supplies the U.S. Defense Department with crystals for use in laser space weapons within the SDI framework.

Is there anything unexpected in this? Let us remember the Canadian Government's decision in 1985. From the very beginning the ban on participation in research within the SDI framework did not affect the activity of private companies. Moreover, they were given complete freedom to seek contracts at their own discretion.

Assessing Ottawa's position as a manifestation of indecision, or maybe a concession, Washington decided to try to involve the state firms of its northern neighbor in "Star Wars." The aim of these steps is not only to use Canadian scientific and economic potential but also to gain political dividends.

It is no secret that NORAD, which includes Canada, is seen in the United States as a future nerve center of the "Strategic Defense Initiative." But in recent years voices have been heard increasingly often in Canada expressing doubt as to the need for Canada's continued participation in NORAD. Fears are expressed that, in the event of a nuclear conflict, it is precisely NORAD which may directly involve the country in the conflict. It is not just individuals who hold such views but major public organizations and political parties. Debates on this theme are being held in Parliament.

In this situation the actual conclusion of contracts within the SDI framework with Canadian state corporations gives Washington the opportunity to bind it more firmly not only to the "Star Wars" plans but also to NORAD.

There is also another problem. Canada traditionally regards itself as the United States' closest ally in the North Atlantic bloc. Washington realizes that Canada's refusal to participate in SDI at state level can influence the position of other NATO member states, where debate continues on the expediency of speeding up the development [razrabotka] of the "Star Wars" program.

But all the same, the successful involvement of Canadian state companies in SDI, according to Canadian press opinion, cannot be explained only by pressure from the U.S. Administration, which, it is argued, Ottawa has not been able to oppose. Judging by how events are developing, Mulroney's government would have shown even greater complacency with regard to SDI if it did not fear the prospect of a sharp fall in its popularity in the country and all the ensuing consequences. But Ottawa's "dual" position suits Washington perfectly well for the present.

China

PRC Protests U.S. Expulsion of Diplomats

*LD061437 Moscow TASS in English 1311 GMT
6 Jan 88*

[Text] Beijing January 6 TASS—As a press briefing today was told by Ma Yuzhen, head of the Press Department of the PRC Foreign Ministry, last year a certain development of Chinese-American relations was observed, yet some problems also cropped up in the relations between the two countries.

We believe, he said, that the Sino-American relations can develop steadily and progressively only if both sides strictly abide by the three fundamental principles: Mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and

non-interference in one another's home affairs. The spokesman for the PRC Foreign Ministry once again pointed out that the Chinese side had made a strong protest to the U.S. Administration over the expulsion of two diplomats from that country. He pointed out that the charges made against them are totally unfounded and that China preserved for itself the right to take counter-measures. The PRC opposes any actions that would poison the atmosphere and worsen relations between China and the United States, he said.

Denounces Israeli Actions

*LD061440 Moscow TASS in English 1340 GMT
6 Jan 88*

[Text] Beijing January 6 TASS—At today's briefing for foreign and Chinese journalists a Foreign Ministry spokesman of the People's Republic of China strongly denounced Israel's actions against the Palestinian people. He stated that China consistently came out in support of the just struggle by the people of Palestine and arab countries in defence of their national sovereignty and demanded that the Israeli authorities immediately cease reprisals and aggressive actions.

PRC Expert on INF, Great Power Ties

*PM061523 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 88
Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "RENMIN RIBAO Interview"]

[Text] Beijing, 5 Jan—RENMIN RIBAO has published its correspondent's interview with Huan Xiang, director of the PRC State Council International Studies Center, which provides an assessment of the events of last year and touches on certain potential developments in the world situation.

Expressing a high opinion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles, the Chinese scholar said: "Judging by the reaction of the U.S. and world public, people are delighted at the signing of the treaty. During the summit meeting the Americans felt that M.S. Gorbachev was a very businesslike, very clever figure. They consider that it is difficult to counter such a worthy rival." The paper notes that during the Soviet-U.S. summit in Washington Huan Xiang was in the United States.

"The significance of the Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles lies not in the number of nuclear missiles to be destroyed in accordance with the document, but in the fact that for the first time since nuclear weapons appeared entire classes of nuclear weapons are due for elimination," Huan Xiang stressed. "From the standpoint of today, the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty merely marks an improvement in the atmosphere of relations between the two countries. But looking at the long term, the document could lay the basis for a new stage of detente in USSR-U.S. relations."

"As for the grand China-United States-USSR triangle, it is clear that Sino-U.S. relations have remained relatively stable in recent years. At the same time, destabilizing factors have appeared in recent months. For example, Congress and the U.S. Administration wanted to use the discontinuation of the transfer of advanced technology as a form of pressure and means of interfering in China's internal affairs, which angered the people. There is evidence of an improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations, but three big obstacles have yet to be removed. I believe that, for a certain period following the advent of detente in USSR-U.S. relations, there can be no dramatic changes in Sino-U.S. and Sino-Soviet relations, as some people suppose, since China's strategic situation and role have not changed. This will continue to attract the close attention of various countries in the world," Huan Xiang noted.

Official Cited on Border Trade Show in PRC

*PM070953 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Dec 87
Second Edition p 4*

[Correspondent T. Yesilbayev "Topical Interview": "In a Neighborly, Friendly Way"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—A commercial exhibition of Soviet and Chinese goods for sale within the framework of Soviet-Chinese border trade has been held in the city of Urumqi (PRC). PRAVDA's correspondent asked one of its participants—K. Dzhakupbayev, deputy chief of the Kazakh SSR Gosplan External Relations Department—to share his impressions of his trip to the neighboring country.

First of all, K. Dzhakupbayev said, I would like to remind you that a similar exhibition was held in Alma-Ata last year, when the first contracts were signed. So our visit to the capital of the PRC's Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region was a return one.

The Soviet delegation included representatives of the Central Asian republics, Altay and Krasnoyarsk Krays, and Kemerovo Oblast, that is, those regions which conduct border trade with the PRC.

Over the course of 8 days visitors had an opportunity to familiarize themselves not only with the range of goods produced at enterprises in the USSR's border regions but also with the achievements of the Land of the Soviets in the economy, science, and culture.

As a result of negotiations new contracts were signed for deliveries of mineral fertilizers and other goods from Kazakhstan to the PRC. Within the framework of border trade China in turn will export men's shirts, terry cloth, and various kinds of vacuum bottles to the Soviet Union. Although the volumes of the contracts concluded are still small, they do, nevertheless, create favorable conditions for maintaining the spirit of good-neighborliness between the two states and enable them to get to know each other better.

Our hospitable hosts showed interest in the restructuring taking place in the USSR.

The exhibition in Urumqi, K. Dzhakupbayev said in conclusion, showed that the desire for mutually advantageous cooperation is mutual and it accords with the interests of the peoples of the USSR and China.

Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society Highlighted
OW060931 Moscow International Service
in Mandarin 0600 GMT 3 Jan 88

[Sergeyev report on meeting (date not specified) of the Central Council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society]

[Excerpts] The meeting discussed the results of the work of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society in 1987. Comrade Kulikova, responsible secretary of the Central Council of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, delivered a report in this respect. [Kulikova is briefly heard, speaking in Russian, fading out after a few seconds]

Comrade Kulikova said: In 1987 the work of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society was carried out to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 30th founding anniversary of the society. To mark the 70th jubilee of the October Revolution, all grassroots organizations of the society have held meetings and discussions on the topic: Impact of the 1917 Russian Great October Revolution on the Development of the National Liberation Movement in China. Many local chapters of the society have also sponsored photo exhibitions on friendship between the Soviet and the Chinese peoples. [passage omitted]

A delegation from China-USSR Friendship Association, led by Zhang Wenjin, president of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries, participated in celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This was an important event. The delegation was invited by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of USSR and the USSR Council of Ministers. Comrades Gromyko, president of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of USSR, and Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met with the delegation. Tereshkova, chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, also met and conversed with the delegation. In his talk with Tereshkova, Zhang Wenjin spoke highly of the activities of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society. Both sides expressed willingness to strengthen and develop contacts between friendship societies of the two countries.

Many activities were held to mark the 30th founding anniversary of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society. A grand evening party in Moscow was attended by Yu Hongliang, Chinese ambassador to the Soviet Union,

who also read a letter of greeting from Wu Xiuquan, president of the Central Council of China-USSR Friendship Association, to the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society. [passage omitted]

Kulikova added: An important task of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society is to maintain contacts with the China-USSR Friendship Association. The friendship societies of the two countries have exchanged visits of a delegation of their societies and two other special tourist delegations, which familiarized themselves with all aspects of life in each other's countries.

Kulikova also noted other activities of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, and submitted the 1988 work program of the society to the Central Council for deliberation. According to the adopted program, evening parties will be held to observe major events in the Chinese history, and to commemorate famous Chinese communists, internationalists, and cultural activists. Other activities will also be organized.

Northeast Asia

Japanese Aircraft Carrier Plan Scored
PM061157 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 88
Second Edition p 1

[Report by own correspondent I. Latyshev: "Aircraft Carrier Escapade"]

[Text] Tokyo, 3 Jan—The papers YOMIURI and DAILY YOMIURI have published some sensational news. According to information gleaned by the papers' editorial offices from a "secret document," the Japanese "Maritime Self-Defense Force" command has devised a program for the further buildup of Japanese military might—the aim now is to include aircraft carriers among the country's naval warships.

It is clear from the aforementioned information that Japanese military circles propose to embark on the construction of aircraft carriers in 1991—right after the implementation of the plan to build an "Aegis" class missile-carrying ship, equipped with the latest automatic laying system enabling it to fire 10 missiles simultaneously at several targets (as is known, this plan was included the other day by the cabinet in the Japanese draft state budget for fiscal 1988). It is proposed that the Japanese aircraft carriers will resemble the British aircraft carrier, Invincible, in their design. Their displacement will be as much as 16,000 tons. Each will carry up to 10 Sea Harrier VTOL combat aircraft.

It is noted that local military circles intend to use the aircraft carriers for the purpose of "strengthening the defense of Japanese sea lanes."

The secret plan revealed by the press for building a Japanese aircraft carrier fleet indicates that the Japanese armed forces command has revised its military doctrine.

Hitherto, according to military circles' claims, it has allegedly been of a "defensive nature." In corroboration of this they have often cited the fact that the Japanese navy lacked an offensive type of armament like aircraft carriers. But now, to all appearances, they are crossing the threshold of past restrictions and directing the country along the path of building up what they know to be offensive types of modern weapons. This, naturally, is bound to worry both the Japanese peace-loving public and the public of neighboring Asian countries. Foreseeing this, the DAILY YOMIURI editorial board writes: "The aforementioned plan exists only on paper at the moment. But it could affect the defense-orientated Japanese military policy, causing alarm in neighboring countries which fear a wider Japanese military presence in Asia." And the papers are bound to agree with this view. While the world has started to move along the path to detente and general disarmament, Japanese military circles are preparing, to all appearances, to accelerate movement in the opposite direction. Who, one wonders, needs these militarist escapades that are hostile to peace?

Japan Post-INF Military Stance Criticized

*OW070620 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT
6 Jan 88*

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Text] On 5 January SANKEI SHIMBUN printed military expert Masamichi Inoki's view on the USSR-U.S. INF Treaty. Following is a commentary on it by our commentator Dmitriyev:

While welcoming the INF Treaty, Mr Inoki, an expert on military affairs, writes that Japan should further build up its military power to head off any fears about the USSR. We could very well have dismissed this as Inoki's personal view were it not so similar to the Japanese Government's view.

For what reasons in the world should Mr Inoki have fears about the Soviet Union?

It was absolutely out of goodwill that the Soviet Union decided to scuttle SS-20's deployed in Asia. It had no obligation to do so if it had not wanted to. Incidentally, we recall that at the 1986 Reykjavik summit, the Soviet Union and United States agreed to leave 100 INF warheads each intact in their respective countries. This means that the portion dealing with Asia in the INF treaty signed in Washington in December represents a disarmament voluntarily carried out by the Soviet Union. On the other hand, the United States did not remove a single warhead in Asia, and the threat of its military bases in the Far East did not diminish at all.

Japan is a neighbor of the Soviet Union. The integrity of Soviet borders in the Far East is greatly affected by how relations are with Japan. In addition, Japan has enough potential and power to influence the political situation in the Asian and Pacific region if it decides to do so.

Therefore, it is quite natural, we must say, for the Soviet Union to expect a positive response from Japan to an initiative for peace. It would not take a diplomat to understand that the Soviet decision to scuttle 100 INF warheads in Asia was something that deserves such a positive response by Japan.

The Soviet decision to eliminate its INF in Asia proved to be a practical way to reduce the level of military confrontation in the region. Since Japan had placed particular emphasis on this matter, it should very well have come forward with specific efforts to create an environment for neighboring nations to make further headway in that direction. But it failed to do so. Presently, the Japanese Government is striving for something entirely different.

The military spending for fiscal 1988 threatens to again surpass the 1%-of-GNP ceiling. It is probably based on the view of the conservative forces in Japan that the spread of a peace mood is detrimental to the interests of the West. Incidentally, an analysis of international developments in 1987 recently published by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs contained an identical expression. Meanwhile, Prime Minister Takeshita said in his New Year press conference that he has no specific proposals in the area of disarmament. We hope that this is not a final statement by the Japanese leadership on this issue.

Japan's Concern Over DPRK Ties 'Propaganda'

*OW060614 Moscow in Japanese to Japan 1200 GMT
5 Jan 88*

[Dmitriyev commentary]

[Excerpts] KYODO News Agency has reported, quoting a Defense Agency [DA] source, that the Japanese leadership is paying attention to the fact that military cooperation between the Soviet Union and DPRK has been expanding. Here is a commentary by our commentator Dmitriyev on this issue.

First, please note that the distance between Okinawa and Pyongyang is about one-half of the distance between Okinawa and Vladivostok. Considering this, it was not strange at all for the Soviet aircraft that mistakenly intruded into Okinawan airspace due to equipment trouble to land in the DPRK's capital because it was carrying only limited reserve fuel. And the action certainly conforms to the spirit of the treaty of friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance signed between the Soviet Union and DPRK.

However, the Japanese military leadership, as if it were waiting for this chance, seems to have spread rumors about USSR-DPRK relations by taking advantage of this episode. At least, a Japanese military leadership source,

as reported by KYODO News Agency, has made such remarks recently on intensified military cooperation in its attempt to directly involve the Soviet aircraft's landing in Pyongyang.

If this episode, that is, the Soviet aircraft's landing in Pyongyang, should be taken as an indication of intensified military cooperation, what terms, then, should be used to explain the deployment of U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers at Misawa airbase? The F-16 aircraft deployed there are not just one but 52 in number, and these 52 planes are always ready to launch nuclear attacks on the Soviet territory.

In the Defense White Paper published in 1987, the DA points out that through their military cooperation, the USSR and DPRK are capable of influencing the correlation of forces in the Far East, and as proof, the white paper cites the exchanges of warship visits between the two countries in 1986. Nevertheless, such exchanges of warship visits between friendly nations are quite common and they should be taken as normal exchanges. And it will be very difficult, no matter how much one wants to do so, to take such normal exchanges as evidence of offsetting the balance in military strength. Meanwhile, in its attempt to justify, somehow or other, its own action of involving Japan in the war preparations of the United States, the DA has gone so far as to close its eyes to the facts, which are quite clear to all. [passage omitted]

Let me point out another fact that is not listed in the Defense White Paper or in the DA leadership's remarks. While the Soviet Union does not have even one military base or any military facilities in North Korea, the United States has approximately 125 military bases or facilities in Japan. Is not this fact of greater significance to the military balance of strength than the right, as pointed out in the Japanese military leadership's remarks, granted to Soviet aircraft to fly through North Korean airspace? And it should not escape our attention that, as opposed to Japan and the United States, the Soviet Union and the DPRK are neighboring countries. Japan and the United States have been actively engaged in military actions in the areas close to North Korea's border as well as the Soviet border. In this context, both the Soviet Union and the DPRK enjoy sufficient freedom to take necessary measures to strengthen their security. [passage omitted]

Thus, it is quite evident that the DA concerns over the military cooperation between the Soviet Union and the DPRK are nothing but propaganda. There is a certain force within Japan's leadership which believes that the recent turn for the better in the international situation will have no influence at all on the situation in the Far East, and that despite the progress in disarmament between the Soviet Union and the United States, Japan needs to carry on its military buildup as before. Perhaps the military leadership supports this force both spiritually and politically. Apparently, this position taken by this force in Japan's ruling clique is favorable, above all, to Japan's military leadership.

DPRK Call for Korea Conference Cited

PM061627 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 88
First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Path to National Agreement"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 4 Jan—South Korea must respond to the proposals for easing tension and uniting the country put forward in the New Year speech by Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea (WPK) Central Committee and president of the DPRK, a statement by Ho Tam, member of the WPK Central Committee Politburo, published today says.

Expressing profound concern about the continuing state of hostility and confrontation in the Korean peninsula, he indicated that to achieve national accord it is essential to put a stop to large-scale military maneuvers, to begin multilateral talks to reduce arms, to hold the 1988 Summer Olympics jointly, and to abandon mutual propaganda attacks.

These problems can only be solved by calling a conference with the participation of all political parties, social organizations, and individual officials in the North and South. Conducting such a forum, the statement notes, will open up prospects for achieving peace and unification in Korea.

MPRP Plenum Focuses on Stockraising Problems

PM061201 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 87
Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Sapov dispatch under the rubric "Fraternal Parties: Meridians of Restructuring": "To the Horizon—and Beyond..."]

[Excerpts] Ulaanbaatar, December—Mongolia is a country with a stable, dynamically developing economy. Its national income is increasing year by year, and the people's well-being is being enhanced. However, the social product growth rate is still below the plan targets and the demands of the time. Livestock raising is lagging behind particularly. What is hindering the accelerated development of this traditional sector of the Mongolian economy? What measures must be taken to ensure its upsurge? There was a detailed discussion of this at a recent MPRP Central Committee plenum. [passage omitted]

The financial aspect of agricultural production is now of concern to everyone in Mongolia—from herdsman to minister.

"We have an awful lot of unprofitable farms," one of my Mongolian colleagues complained. "What is worse, free-loading has developed: Certain leaders are so accustomed to subsidies that they cannot conceive of an existence without them."

The press cited this fact: Last year state farms and feed farms received 300 million tugriks in preferential subsidies to make up working capital, planned losses, and so forth, of which just 18% was returned to the state budget. The picture is the same now: Despite an increase in purchase prices and the introduction of special markups, more than one-third of state farms operated at a loss.

Mongolian friends value highly the great assistance which the Soviet Union gave the republic in forming the material base of livestock raising. Other socialist countries are also making an important contribution to this. However, it was stated from the plenum rostrum that things are not proceeding brilliantly at these enterprises either. In 1986 almost 30% of the total capacity of mechanized dairy units was not utilized. Things are particularly bad in Darhan and in the Selenge and Tov Aymags. The size of the milking herd, commercial production of young animals, average milk yields per cow, and so forth are still substantially below the plan indicators.

Problems associated with the production of mixed feed and concentrates were also raised at the plenum. The animals' ration is still not rich in them. Again the reason for this is certainly not the weakness of the existing base. It turns out that the total capacity of mixed feed enterprises is 350,000 tonnes, but only 150,000 tonnes of output are produced. This is frequently of poor quality and not balanced in terms of mineral supplements. The work of scientific research institutes and zonal experimental stations has repeatedly been seriously criticized in Mongolia.

The chief cause of stagnation in livestock raising is not the natural and climatic conditions but is conditioned by backward methods of managing and organizing this sector. J. Batmonh, general secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and chairman of the People's Great Hural Presidium, pointed out in his plenum speech.

In the new year, 1988, Mongolian agricultural enterprises are to implement measures to improve planning on the basis of the Ninth MPRP Congress decisions. They are being given greater independence.

The plenum also directed planning organs to resolve such an important question as the siting of livestock product processing enterprises. The reorganization of small plants and departments, as well as milk-processing enterprises in the chief milk-producing zones, also needs accelerating. Of course, all this will take considerable time and money but, as Mongolians say, they must even now "be able to look over the horizon." For the spoiling of leather and skins and the loss of whey and other byproducts cost dear.

The decisions of the MPRP Central Committee December (1987) Plenum direct the republic's stockraising workers to make the transition from extensive to intensive methods of developing the sector. This course, which fully meets the interests of socialist building in Mongolia, accords with the spirit of the time and the new tasks facing the country.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

PRK Envoy Liberation Day News Conference

LD062304 Moscow TASS in English 1925 GMT
6 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—The Kampuchean Government's national reconciliation policy brought its first palpable results last year. Hor Nam Hong, ambassador of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to the Soviet Union, said here today

He was speaking at a news conference on the occasion of his country's national holiday—Liberation Day—which is observed on January 7.

Commenting on the results of a meeting between Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Kampuchea, and Prince Sihanouk last month, the ambassador noted that the joint communique after the meeting had expressed confidence that the Kampuchean issue could be resolved only by political means and only by the Kampuchean people themselves by way of talks between all sides involved in the conflict.

The communique, Hor Nam Hong said, had also recorded the opinion that it was essential to call an international conference whose decisions would guarantee everything achieved in the course of national reconciliation.

Speaking of the international significance of Hun Sen's meeting with Sihanouk, the ambassador voiced the opinion that the position of the ASEAN members on the Kampuchean issue had become "more constructive".

Answering questions from newsmen, he said it was very important now to ascertain whether the so-called red Khmers wanted to take part in talks in the name of national accord and a political settlement.

"As to their representatives, they know well themselves who these should be, taking into account the fact that some of their leaders, although they have not been convicted by the revolutionary tribunal, unlike Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, have nonetheless been morally condemned by the Kampuchean people for their part in the policy of genocide," the ambassador said.

He added that the Kampuchean head of government had suggested getting together with Prince Sihanouk in France on January 20 and that "at this meeting we will be prepared to discuss in a spirit of good will any issue related to a political settlement".

Asked how he saw the future political system in Kampuchea, Hor Nam Hong said it would depend exclusively on the will of the Kampuchean people.

KPRP Approves Najibullah Visit Results

*LD061550 Moscow TASS in English 1422 GMT
6 Jan 88*

[Text] Phnom Penh January 6 TASS—The visit to the People's Republic of Kampuchea of Afghanistan's party and state delegation, led by President of the Republic Najibullah, is a new step in consolidation of friendship and cooperation between the two parties, states and peoples. This was underlined at a meeting of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, which was held here. The meeting heard a report of General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea Heng Samrin on the results of his meeting with the Afghan delegation, the SPK news agency reports.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea fully approved the results of negotiations, the signing of the treaty on friendship and cooperation between Kampuchea and Afghanistan. It highly appreciated the Afghan Government's efforts aimed at putting into life the humane national reconciliation policy aimed at attaining peace in the country.

Near East & South Asia

More on Shevardnadze Visit to Afghanistan

Meetings, Activities Reviewed

*LD061944 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1736 GMT 6 Jan 88*

[Text] Kabul, 6 Jan (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, was in the Republic of Afghanistan on a working visit 4-6 January.

E.A. Shevardnadze had two meetings with Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan and general secretary of the PDPA [People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan] Central Committee. E.A. Shevardnadze conveyed to him warm greetings and best wishes from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Talks were held with the Afghan leadership on a wide range of issues. The talks were conducted, on the Afghan side, by President Najibullah. S.A. Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Foreign Minister A. Wakil, members and candidate members of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo, and secretaries of the PDPA Central Committee took part in them. On the Soviet side, V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, P.P. Mozhayev, USSR ambassador to the Republic of Afghanistan, Yu.K. Alekseyev, head of the Middle East Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and special envoy N.I. Kozyrev took part in the talks.

President Najibullah spoke about the internal political situation in the country in the context of implementing the policy for national reconciliation. He noted that the all-Afghan dialogue is progressively developing and that in the course of it the possibility of reaching a nationwide agreement and putting a stop to bloodshed is becoming increasingly clear.

The Afghan side expressed a number of new ideas on ways to give fresh impetus to the implementation of the policy for national reconciliation and to the settling of the Afghan problem as a whole. These ideas were specific and were based on a realistic analysis of the existing situation in and around the country.

At the same time, great attention was paid to enhancing the role of state bodies at national and provincial levels, considering that the presidential form of government has been recently set up in Afghanistan by decision of the Loya Jirgah [Grand Assembly].

On the whole the situation at the Afghan-Pakistani talks being conducted through a personal representative of the UN secretary general is developing favorably. This gives hope for completing soon the process of political settlement of the external aspects of the Afghan problem. The Afghan side is constructively preparing for the next round of these talks, and intends to conclude appropriate accords at it.

E.A. Shevardnadze expressed complete support for the policy pursued by the Afghan leadership aimed at national reconciliation and for the practical steps being undertaken for the purpose of implementing it. The contacts that the Soviet side has had recently with representatives of other states confirm that there are good international preconditions for the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan and the cessation of external interference in its affairs. In turn, this will allow the contingent of Soviet troops there to be withdrawn from the country within 12 months. Complete understanding and agreement exist between the Soviet and Afghan sides on that count.

President Najibullah shared his impressions of his recent trips to India, Vietnam, and Cambodia.

At the negotiations, the state of Soviet-Afghan bilateral relations in various spheres was examined in detail and in depth. Special emphasis was placed in this regard upon the need for a more decisive switch to effective new forms of cooperation.

It was noted that the volume of Soviet-Afghan cooperation has grown considerably of late; a number of important industrial projects are about to go into operation.

Trade and economic cooperation with Afghan private entrepreneurs is getting off the ground. An accord has been reached on the activation of interaction between scientific institutions and cultural and public organizations.

Direct links between republics, oblasts, and cities of the USSR and provinces and cities of Afghanistan are becoming established in the practice of mutual relations.

Measures for the further intensification of these processes were discussed and a specific program of actions was outlined.

E.A. Shevardnadze had talks with A. Wakil, member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and Afghan foreign minister; M. Rafi', S.M. Golabzoy and G.F. Yaqubi, members of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo; S.N. Tanay, candidate member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo; M. Koshani, B. Baghlani and E. Kawa, members of the leadership of the Revolutionary Workers Organization of Afghanistan.

During the talks that V.M. Kamentsev had with S.A. Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan, with the chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Republic of Afghanistan, and with heads of ministries and departments of Afghanistan there was discussion of long-term plans for trade and economic cooperation.

A meeting also took place between E.A. Shevardnadze and a group of private entrepreneurs representing Afghanistan's national capitalists.

The talks and conversations were friendly and open in character and passed off in an atmosphere of cordiality and complete mutual understanding.

Interview Before Departure

*LD061940 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1752 GMT 6 Jan 88*

[Text] Kabul, 6 Jan (TASS)—E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR Foreign minister, who was in the Republic of Afghanistan on a working visit, gave an interview to the BAKHTAR agency before his departure for home.

Question: You are beginning a 2d year with a visit to Afghanistan. What is the present working visit connected with?

Answer: With a new stage in Soviet-Afghan relations, the basis of which was laid by the meeting of the top leaders of our two countries—M.S. Gorbachev and Najibullah—at the end of 1986. With the implementation in Afghanistan of the policy of national reconciliation which we support completely and to which we wish total success, and with the Geneva talks on a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan entering a decisive stage.

The Soviet leadership attaches much importance to contacts with President Najibullah and other Afghan leaders. They are especially necessary now that the implementation of the second stage of the policy of national reconciliation is beginning, and the question of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan is on the agenda. We would like the new year of 1988 to be the last year of the stay of Soviet troops in your country.

Question: Do the conditions for that exist?

Answer: Having discussed this question with President Najibullah, we came to the conclusion that the necessary conditions could be guaranteed in the near future.

It is important to have in mind here two aspects of the problem: the external, international aspect, and the domestic aspect. Both are very important and linked, but from the political point of view the main thing is to complete the Geneva process. At the Afghan-Pakistani talks, which are being conducted via the personal representative of the UN secretary general, practically the whole package of necessary accords has already been agreed upon.

There is a possibility of completing these talks at the next round in February. If that happens, an obligation on the cessation of external interference will come into force. Under the documents which have been prepared, the USSR and United States of America will act as guarantors of this obligation. Let me stress that the U.S. side agrees to act as guarantor and, correspondingly, to cease aid to the armed groups waging combat operations in Afghanistan against the people's authorities.

It is with the coming into force of this obligation that the withdrawal of Soviet troops will begin.

This should take place, as envisaged by the agreement, 60 days after the signing of the accords reached at the Afghan-Pakistani talks. In other words, the conditions for a political settlement of the external aspects of the Afghan problem, we believe, will be ensured.

The Afghan patriots, not sparing themselves, arms in hand, have been defending the gains of the April revolution. Side by side with them, at the most difficult stages in the struggle, have been Soviet internationalists servicemen. But the new political thinking insistently sought out ways and means that exclude a military solution to the problem. This is how the projects for a political settlement around Afghanistan and for the policy of national reconciliation came about.

We shall leave Afghanistan with a clear conscience and the awareness that we have done our duty, when external interference ceases. Complete understanding on this point exists between ourselves and the Afghan leadership. Precisely proceeding from this, President Najibullah announced that Soviet troops might possibly be withdrawn from the country within 12 months. If the

situation favors this, the president said, the withdrawal can be carried out even earlier than the term scheduled. Let's say that the troops will be withdrawn ahead of schedule from the provinces where the cease-fire acquires a stable nature.

Question: You also touched upon the internal aspect of the Afghan problem. The cessation of external interference may not lead automatically to the cessation of military actions inside the country. Is this not so?

Answer: Any revolution and any drastic social changes affect the interests of certain circles which do not accept these changes and which oppose them, sometimes even by armed struggle. Such forces, of course, also exist in Afghanistan. The policy of national reconciliation has been calculated precisely to find a basis of which all patriotic forces of the Afghan people could cooperate on a peaceful nonconfrontational basis. The essence of the policy of national reconciliation consists in the fact that the opposing forces are able to shape the future of their country not by armed struggle, but by participating in the all-Afghan political dialogue and by participating in the decision-making and in the governing of the country.

Afghan society is split, but today all strata, groupings, factions, tribes, and the clergy are invited, by political means, by methods traditional for Afghanistan, to find a common denominator of their interests in a future, independent, sovereign, neutral, nonaligned Afghanistan.

Surely true Afghan patriots can achieve this? For they cannot fail to see and understand that the continuation of the division and the bloodshed is undermining the future of the nation. Those who, ignoring its true interests, bring to the fore considerations of an ideological nature, paying excessive attention to these considerations, risk putting themselves outside the highest moral law.

In our view, an indispensable condition for an internal political settlement in Afghanistan is a constructive political dialogue in which no one will claim a monopoly on power. At the given stage, as we understand the program of national reconciliation, it is a question of forming a coalition government on the broadest basis. It must thereby be taken into account that the creation of a coalition government is only conceived as the first step to working out an all-Afghan agreement with regard to the future path of Afghanistan's development. To evade broad political dialogue and to evade determining on this basis the fate of your own country and your own people means setting some ancillary, transitory, and personal considerations and ambitions before national interests. We think that the forces that are ignoring the call of the nation and the homeland can lose support among those circles of the population upon which they rely.

The way toward national reconciliation in Afghanistan is open and it can only be achieved by the Afghans themselves.

Question: Can one say that, in view of the present stage in the development of the situation in Afghanistan, the nature of Soviet-Afghan relations is changing or will change?

Answer: The Soviet Union and Afghanistan have long been bound by ties of friendship and good neighborliness. We had good relations during the rule of King Daud and after the April revolution. We are confident that we will also preserve these relations with the government which will be formed in Afghanistan as the outcome of national reconciliation. Furthermore, we are convinced that the experience accumulated and the program of cooperation developed jointly with the Afghan leadership allow us to forecast the emergence of Soviet-Afghan relations on a new level, higher than before.

In the past, too, the Soviet Union considered it its duty to assist a neighboring friendly country in its economic development. Now our economic ties are being restructured in conformity with the requirements of the time. Economic and foreign trade institutions in the Soviet Union are actively collaborating with Afghan entrepreneurs and with the peasantry. Joint enterprises are being set up. Steps are being undertaken to get contacts going on regional and production levels; cooperation in industry and marketing can give good results. The republics, krais, oblasts, and cities and towns of the Soviet Union will, within the framework of forging direct ties with the provinces of Afghanistan, increasingly actively build by their own efforts industrial enterprises, transportation and communications installations, and projects for cultural and consumers purposes and render assistance to the Afghan national intelligentsia in training cadres.

The USSR Academy of Sciences and the academies of sciences of the union republics, the universities and institutes, the creative unions, and youth, women's, sports, and other public organizations are joining in this activity.

For us the main aim in implementing this entire program is not only to restore the war-torn economy, to get the national economy functioning normally again, but also for it to be of a modern standard and for there to be a genuine flourishing of Afghan national culture.

It is precisely at present that the foundation for this is being laid.

Question: Of late, Soviet Leaders have had many meetings and conversations with representatives of many countries of the world. The results of the Washington summit and the signing of the Treaty on the Elimination

of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles have been welcomed in Afghanistan. All this has given us new hopes for a better future for our country, too. Are they justified?

Answer: Without any doubt. The general improvement in the international situation will undoubtedly have a bearing on Afghan affairs, too. But here I can see another dependence, too, a reverse connection. The policy of national reconciliation and its practical implementation by the Afghan leadership, headed by President Najibullah, while being a reflection of general world trends, are in turn having a favorable effect on the international climate. I think that all the forces involved in the inter-Afghan conflict should realize that by feeling their way toward links leading to national accord and reconciliation they are giving a chance to their own people and to the whole world.

Here is another fact of the international importance of the policy of national reconciliation: Under trial in Afghanistan, it is more and more becoming a basic model for settling conflicts in other regions. People are becoming interested in it and studying it so that, by adapting it to local conditions, they can place it at the service of their own countries and peoples.

In this respect, the experiences of our Afghan friends who are implementing a policy of national reconciliation, is also making an international impression.

Comments on Geneva

LD061647 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1530 GMT 6 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Today Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, who has been on a working visit to the Republic of Afghanistan, left Kabul for Moscow. At Kabul International Airport, he was seen off by Comrade Keshtmand and other officials.

Before leaving Kabul, Comrade Shevardnadze granted an interview to our correspondent.

[Begin recording]

[Correspondent] Your visit to Afghanistan was the first this year. What are the reasons for that?

[Shevardnadze] The reasons for this are that our ties are strengthening, and cooperation is intensifying. The decision has been made to withdraw Soviet troops, and in connection with this we, both the USSR and Afghanistan, need to take care to strengthen economic cooperation, scientific and technical cooperation, and relations between public organizations and between parties and to lay a firmer foundation for our future relations, a foundation for future generations.

[Correspondent] Eduard Amvrosiyevich, now after the end of the talks, surely one can say what topics were discussed?

[Shevardnadze] Undoubtedly, the question of completing the Geneva process, the question of a political settlement, is now being given priority. Not a bad foundation has been created; the main documents have been agreed upon. As far as the withdrawal of Soviet troops within 12 months is concerned—as President Najibullah has said and as Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev has confirmed—I believe that very many questions remain unresolved. We intend that the next round, which will take place probably in mid-February, will be conclusive in this regard.

[Correspondent] Many thanks. [End recording]

Arrival in Moscow

LD062101 Moscow Television Service in Russian
1800 GMT 6 Jan 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] After the conclusion of his working visit to Afghanistan, Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, arrived in Moscow today. [passage omitted] At the airport in Moscow, Comrade Shevardnadze was welcomed by Comrade Zaykov.

U.S. 'Unwillingness' To Promote Afghan Settlement

LD061713 Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT
6 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

Michael Armacost, U.S. under-secretary of state for political affairs, met with leaders of Afghan counterrevolutionary groups in Islamabad Tuesday. Armacost assured the leaders of Afghan counterrevolutionary forces that the U.S. would render assistance to them till they achieved their purpose.

Moscow diplomatic circles believe that the intention of the U.S. Administration to further render assistance to Afghan anti-government groups can be regarded only as Washington's unwillingness to promote an early settlement of the "Afghan problem". It is noteworthy that those statements were made ahead of the next round of the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva which can become decisive and final.

Washington voiced its readiness to further supply Afghan counterrevolutionaries with weapons and money despite the fact that the national reconciliation policy announced less than a year ago has been supported by millions of Afghans both inside and outside the country. Some 110,000 refugees have returned home from Iran, Pakistan and other countries, some 35,000 members of

anti-government groups laid down arms. Negotiations are under way with 1,100 armed groups on the discontinuation of confrontation. In his speech at Loya Jirgah [Grand Assembly] on November 30, President Najibullah of Afghanistan pointed out that the return home of Soviet troops could be completed in 12 months or less under favourable circumstances. All this creates good conditions for a political settlement around Afghanistan.

However, the efforts of governments of the two countries are not enough for that. All the countries involved in the conflict should display goodwill and promote by concrete actions the normalization of the situation.

TASS Cites BAKHTAR on Afghan Developments
LD070902 Moscow TASS in English 0830 GMT
7 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 7 TASS—Some 1,000 Afghans have returned home from Iran and Pakistan in the past two days, BAKHTAR NEWS AGENCY reported. It said all of them had been given material assistance and help with settling down in their native parts in the provinces Nangarhar, Balkh, Zabol and Samangan.

A large convoy of 289 heavy-duty trucks has carried over 2,000 tons of cargoes from Gardeyz to Khowst District. All in all, eight convoys have arrived in the district by today, bringing a total of nearly 11,000 tons of freight there.

Afghan armed forces a few days ago routed an anti-government gang in (Jadran) District, killing most of the bandits, including their chieftain. They also seized a large amount of arms and ammunition.

People in Deh Sabz District in Kabul Province have declared their area a peace zone, BAKHTAR reported.

Roundup of Indian Press Views on Armacost Visit
PM061655 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 1

[Own correspondent dispatch under the rubric "Reports From Abroad": "United States-Pakistan: Armacost's Promises and Threats"]

[Text] Delhi—Attention in Indian political circles is focused on the 3-day visit to Pakistan of M. Armacost, U.S. under secretary of state for political affairs, which began 4 January.

This interest in the ranking U.S. representative's visit is due to the fact that Afghanistan will be the main topic of his talks with Pakistani leaders, including President Ziaul Haq. At the talks in Islamabad, the Indian newspaper PATRIOT writes, the two sides will "coordinate their strategy" before the upcoming round of Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva with the mediation of D. Cordovez, personal representative of the UN secretary general.

Indian observers note that the Soviet Government decision to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan within a 12-month period and the program of national reconciliation proposed by the Afghan Government have created favorable conditions for ending the 8-year war on Afghan soil. "The interests of India and the Soviet Union as regards Afghanistan coincide," the influential TIMES OF INDIA newspaper writes. The point at issue is ending the outside armed interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs. However, the Indian newspapers are unanimous that M. Armacost's mission in Islamabad pursues completely different aims. In a long commentary THE TIMES OF INDIA writes: "Not just in India but also in Pakistan the view is widely held that the United States is exerting pressure on Pakistan not to enter into an agreement with Kabul or Moscow at the upcoming UN-sponsored indirect talks. The United States is aiming to persuade Pakistan to continue its policy of support for the Afghan rebels."

Local newspapers emphasize that M. Armacost has come here to assure his Pakistani interlocutors that the United States intends not only to continue its military and financial aid to the dushmans but even to increase its scale. According to THE HINDUSTAN TIMES, he will give similar assurances to the ringleaders of the Afghan counterrevolution entrenched in Pakistan. M. Armacost arranged a meeting with them through his Pakistani mediators in the course of the preparations for his visit. Citing U.S. sources, the newspapers report that in 1987 alone, the United States spent between \$660,000 and \$1 million on aid to the dushmans.

The view has been expressed in Delhi that the upcoming round of Afghan-Pakistani talks could be the last. Judging by appearances, however, Washington is not ready for this. The United States continues to gamble on arms rather than negotiations.

Destroyer Commander on Soviet Ships in Gulf
LD061714 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1608 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jan (TASS)—The main task of the Soviet warships in the Persian Gulf is to protect Soviet tankers and guard the peaceful labor of their countrymen. This was stated in an interview in today's IZVESTIYA by Captain 3d Class M. Volk, the commander of the destroyer Stoykiy. The paper's correspondent was in contact with him by telephone.

A few days ago the destroyer Stoykiy began escorting Soviet trade ships to Persian Gulf ports.

Several Soviet vessels are at the present time delivering cargoes to several of the Gulf's ports. Three tankers—Makhachkala, Pobeda, and General Tyulenev—have been chartered by Kuwait. One of them, Pobeda, is leaving the Gulf and heading for Australia.

M. Volk stated that several ships, including the destroyer Stoykiy, the large antisubmarine ship Admiral Tributs, the small antisubmarine ship Komsomolets Gruzii and the minesweeper Trubinst are engaged in escorting Soviet tankers in the Gulf. The ships are equipped with everything necessary to protect Soviet vessels from attack.

The captain noted that the Soviet warships do not call at ports in the Gulf. Everything needed by the naval ships in the Persian Gulf is provided by supply vessels, the tankers Pamyat Lenina and Argun and the refrigerator vessel Karadag.

M. Volk said that tense situations are arising on practically every escort operation. "We are escorting single vessels and also several vessels at the same time in convoy," the captain stated. "In doing this the warship is situated most dangerously, and an attack can be expected. The most complex operation of late was the escorting of four Soviet cargo vessels. It was performed for the first time in the Persian Gulf zone by our warship."

Sub-Saharan Africa

Malaria Outbreak Affecting RSA Forces
MB071233 Moscow in English to South Africa
1800 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Aleksandr Novikhov Commentary]

[Text] The number of South African servicemen killed by a severe form of malaria is growing. According to reports from South Africa, several hundred soldiers have been hospitalized. Some of them are in critical condition. When South African television mentioned the first victims of the disease, few people paid attention. Military actions are military actions, and they are not conducted in sterile conditions. However, the following day reports said that the number of sick servicemen amounted to dozens. Several days later the news media mentioned hundreds of men struck by malaria.

This progression attracted close attention to reports on the unusual epidemic. Journalists watching the developments in South Africa have drawn attention to several aspects of the outbreak of malaria. In the first place, this is the first case of such an extensive incidence of malaria among South African servicemen. Second, high-ranking government officials led by President Botha himself visited the area of military actions in the territory of Angola for the first time during the current incursion.

The goals of (?their trip) were kept a secret, but one of the results has become known. Minister of Law and Order Adriaan Vlok contracted malaria in the area of hostilities. Now he is undergoing medical treatment. An outbreak of an unusual form of malaria has also occurred in a region located more than 1,500 km away from the front in Angola, in the extreme northeast of Transvaal and the

north of Natal Province. According to news reports, 3,000 people are sick with malaria there, and the number of those (?who die) as a result is growing.

In this connection, there has been a report that Transvaal houses a secret center (?in which they) are developing bacteriological weapons. As a matter of fact, several years ago the press reported outbreaks of epidemics in Transvaal. (?Besides), the chief of the medical services of South Africa's army, Lieutenant General (Niewoudt), has conceded, even if indirectly, that the current epidemic has artificial origins, and that traditional antimalarial remedies are not (?very) effective in this case.

East Europe

SED's Felfe Receives Order of Friendship
PM070917 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 88
Second Edition p 3

[“Supreme Soviet Decree Awarding Comrade Werner Felfe, SED Central Committee Politburo and Secretary of the SED Central Committee member, the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples”]

[Text] Comrade Werner Felfe, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, is awarded the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples for his contribution to developing friendship and cooperation between the GDR and the USSR and on his 60th birthday.

A. Gromyko, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman

T. Menteshashvili, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium secretary

The Kremlin, Moscow, 30 December 1987.

Ceremony Marks Publication of Romanian's Work
AU051947 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1800 GMT 5 Jan 87

[“Another Work by Academician Elena Ceausescu, D.Sc. Put Out in Moscow”—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Moscow AGERPRES, 05/01/1988—The Russian version of the work “Researches in Polymer Chemistry and Technology” by Mme Elena Ceausescu, put out by the well-known publishing house “Nauka” of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, edited by Academician V.V. Korshak, adds to the previous two volumes published in the USSR in 1981 and 1983—“Stereospecific Polymerization of Isoprene” and “Further Researches in Macromolecular Compounds” respectively. The publication of this book is a proof of the valuation enjoyed abroad by the contribution of Academician Elena Ceausescu D.Sc., to the progress of chemistry, in the field of

polymers included, of scientific knowledge in general, to the finalization of the modalities of using the results of research for the benefit of peoples, of peace.

In the curriculum vitae prefacing the book, stress is laid on the activity carried on by Elena Ceausescu in her capacity as chairman of the National Council of Science and Education, on her vast political activity as member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP and first deputy prime minister.

In the foreword to the Russian version, Academician V.V. Korshak specifies that the book "Researches in Polymer Chemistry and Technology" is the fourth component of a series of works the distinguished Romanian chemical engineer, Academician Elena Ceausescu, D.Sc., has been writing for several years to the benefit of the science of macromolecular compounds and industries.

The volume, Acad. V.V. Korshak further writes, synthesizes the latest results of the author's fundamental and applied researches in polymer chemistry and technology which have aroused the interest of numerous international scientific events. It dwells on topical achievements and problems posed by polymer materials obtained through modern, highly efficient technologies. Undoubtedly, V.V. Korshak writes in conclusion, the work will arrest the attention of experts proving its usefulness and value of reference for all chemical engineers making research in this field.

An event was arranged in Moscow to mark the launching of the book gathering numerous scientific personalities and decision-makers in the Soviet Union. Among those present were Acad. K.M. Dyumayev, vice-chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology, Prof. M.I. Zhuravleva, deputy minister of education, P.I. Shabanov deputy minister of culture, V.M. Torbenko deputy minister of the chemical industry, Acad. A.M. Prokhorov, Nobel Prize laureate, Acad. N.K. Kochetkov, director of the Institute of Organic Chemistry, Acad. B.K. Vainstein [spelling as received], director of the Institute of Crystallography, Acad. Y.A. Buslayev, director of the Institute of Physical-Chemical Research, Prof. A.P. Kapitsa, directors of scientific research institutes and publishing houses, other scientists and experts, representatives of the Foreign Relations Section of the CC of the CPSU and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR.

In their addresses, the participants highlighted the personality of Academician Elena Ceausescu, D.Sc., her contribution to the development of polymer science and technology, to the specialty literature, to the scientific settlement of problems of great interest for the economy, her vast activity as an outstanding militant of the Romanian Communist Party and state.

Welcoming the publication of the Russian version of the book, the participants expressed their belief that it would contribute to a better knowledge of the top achievements, of the concerns of Romanian scientific research, to the development of the Romanian-Soviet cooperative links and to the strengthening of the Romanian-Soviet friendship, in the interest of the scientists of the two countries. They also showed that the illustrious Romanian scholar, deeply attached to the cause of international cooperation in science, education and culture, carried on an intense activity devoted to the strengthening of the unity of action of scientists throughout the world, for science to serve exclusively the peoples' aspirations after progress and development, mankind's ideals of freedom, national independence, cooperation and peace.

West Europe

FRG's Kohl Stresses INF Ratification to Biden
*LD061240 Moscow TASS in English 1218 GMT
6 Jan 88*

[Text] Bonn January 6 TASS—In the opinion of Chancellor Helmut Kohl, U.S. Senate should without delay ratify the treaty on the elimination of the intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, which was signed in Washington by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

Talking to U.S. Senator Joseph Biden in Bonn, the chancellor underlined that he would welcome this step of the Senate. Helmut Kohl noted that a 50-per-cent reduction in strategic systems, universal prohibition of chemical weapons and establishment of equilibrium in the sphere of conventional armaments were of priority significance to the FRG Government.

Kuznetsov Lauds 'Improving' Relations With Sweden
*PM061211 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 88
Second Edition p 4*

[Own correspondent Yu. Kuznetsov dispatch: "Our Neighbor Sweden"]

[Excerpt] Helsinki—[Passage omitted] Recently a tendency toward improving Soviet-Swedish relations, toward developing mutually advantageous economic cooperation, and toward strengthening cultural contacts has been observed and is receiving practical support. In the matter of strengthening trade and economic ties, both countries are relying on the Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic, Industrial and Scientific and Technical Cooperation for the Years 1981 through 1990 and for the long-term agreement on trade to the year 1995. But the USSR's share in Sweden's foreign trade is still small, and there are enormous unused reserves in this sphere. It is appropriate to say that interest has recently been shown in Swedish business circles in further expanding trade and economic ties with

our country. In addition to firms which have been cooperating with us for a long time, others have also been showing interest in the Soviet market, particularly in the sphere of machine building, the mining industry, and agriculture.

The Soviet Union has always striven to support good-neighborly relations with Sweden. It is no secret that these relations—both political, trade and economic—have suffered from preconceived notions, diligently cultivated by certain circles, of our country allegedly in some way threatening its neighbor on the Baltic Sea. Even now such attempts are sometimes made. But the majority of sensible Swedes correctly assess both the realities of modern politics and the USSR's peace-loving course in international affairs, including its course as regards its neighbors.

Such a judgment is supported by the facts. The Swedish commission for psychological defense recently conducted a routine public opinion inquiry. It clearly showed: "Relations between the Swedes and the Soviet Union and its leader M. Gorbachev have become more positive." The inquiry's organizers are convinced that the Soviet leadership's new approach to questions of foreign policy, the Soviet Union's peace initiatives, and its efforts directed at solving the problems of disarmament and stopping nuclear weapons' tests are at the basis of this phenomenon. According to the inquiry's figures, now 65% of Swedes do not think that the USSR is disposed "in an unfriendly way" toward their country.

Like the other Nordic states, Sweden highly assesses the Soviet Union's peace-loving steps, particularly as regards precisely this region, and note the major positive role of the proposals put forward by M.S. Gorbachev in Murmansk. "Gorbachev has given the struggle for peace a new dimension," NORRSKENSFLAMMAN, the Swedish Communists' newspaper, writes. The newspaper stresses that now, largely thanks to the USSR's policy, more favorable conditions are taking shape for strengthening peace in the European north and, in particular, creating zones free of nuclear weapons here.

In neighboring Norway Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland, speaking during a foreign policy debate in the Storting, gave a positive assessment of the Soviet leader's Murmansk speech, noting the increasingly favorable opportunities for expanding cooperation with the Soviet Union. In his New Year address to the Finnish people, President Mauno Koivisto spoke of the great significance of developing relations with the USSR. He noted that these relations rest on a stable basis.

In the days preceding the visit to Sweden by N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, it is useful to stress once more the pressing necessity of strengthening Soviet-Swedish relations and business ties. Especially since a basis for successfully developing these

relations exists and has recently been expanding in many spheres. This, without a doubt, accords with the interests both of the Swedish and Soviet peoples.

Software Enterprise With Britain Begins Work

PM071055 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 88

Second Edition p 3

[Interview with Diana Miller, director of UK firm "Gerald Computers," and V. Makarov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Mathematics and Economics Institute, by D. Lesnoy: "Lessons by Contract Offered by New Joint Enterprise"; no date or place of interview given; first two paragraphs are PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] As of January this year the "Dinamika" Soviet-British joint enterprise for the production of a new kind of publishing output—computer learning systems—is commencing operation. It has been organized by decision of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants, and the Book Trade on the basis of the "Vneshtorgizdat" all-union association.

The USSR Ministry of Finance registered the enterprise 28 December 1987. Its address is: 30/2 Gorkiy Street, Moscow, telephone: 299-03-19.

"What prompted you to seek cooperation?" we asked Diana Miller, director of the firm "Gerald Computers" and founder of the joint enterprise on the British side.

[Miller] The idea of the joint enterprise came to me several years ago, during my first meetings with Soviet programmers. They attract us by virtue of their erudition and level of mathematical training. But they lack what can be called an enterprise culture [kultura proisvodstva].

Your programmers write programs for other programmers. We work differently: The programmer must create a program that anyone can use—schoolchild, businessman, scientist, or housewife. Otherwise demand will not be broad.

I think we could complement each other well here. The West has the technology and people practiced at whipping programs into shape, and you have original, profound ideas, and promising developments.

Such cooperation could be particularly fruitful in the education system, where the need for qualitative change is no longer in doubt: Everyone now realizes that it is not the sum of knowledge which is important but the ability to acquire it, to find your way around the flow of information, and to pick the best decision. Today computers are indispensable here.

You may ask why I am seeking cooperation in organizing production of computer learning systems in the USSR. But I in turn would ask you: Why is the West not overly eager to produce educational programs? The fact is that

they need quite large investments. Judge for yourself, besides the work of a programmer and a specialist in the subject, consultations with medics, pedagogues, and psychologists may be needed. There is the possibility of enlisting these forces in the Soviet Union. In the West such broad expertise would make a program fantastically expensive and therefore commercially pointless.

In short, what is desirable is a combination of your knowledge and teaching ideas with our technology, your ability to enlist a wide range of qualified specialists and our habit of living in tough conditions of competition.

As for the difficulties, they are largely administrative. I am referring to the huge number of consultations, coordination meetings, signatures, protocols, and conferences of all kinds. But I suggest that there will be difficulties of another kind: objective ones. It will be necessary to devise a system for paying programmers which gives them incentives to work better. At the moment I do not see such a ready-made system in your legislation. How to interest the authors of a program in its commercial success—this is the task we need to resolve in the near future. [Miller ends]

V. Makarov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Central Economics and Mathematics Institute, comments on the agreement:

[Makarov] D. Miller noted the plus points of creating a joint software enterprise in her interview. I would like to outline a number of problems into which it may run and for which it must be ready.

Western economists class information technology, computer production, and program development as belonging to the "high risk sphere." Recognition of this fact is expressed in more preferential taxation systems, special insurance terms, state aid, and assistance in export. The "electronics market" is extremely dynamic and heavily populated. Competition here is fierce, and the rises and falls are equally swift and unpredictable. On the other hand, it is a market constantly hungry for new computer programs, for bright ideas, and constantly expanding, according to certain estimates, by 60% per year.

Even simply going out into this market, gaining a foothold in it, gaining a name and reputation for oneself, and making useful contacts means a lot for our programmers and economists.

I think interference in the work of the joint enterprise must be confined to one area: the correct choice of leader and complete trust in him. Moreover, he should be not a chief but a manager. I have dwelt on this question in such detail because, in my opinion, it is precisely here that the greatest danger to such ventures lies. The desire of many to immediately grab every egg from the goose may discourage the desire to get involved in work which is interesting, useful, and very important for our country.

In conclusion, I would like to note the obvious fact that programs are a particular kind of commodity: No matter how many you sell, the quantity you have will never diminish. Thus it can be considered that orientation toward the world market is a way of producing programs for domestic use, but ones of higher quality.

Ankara Envoy on U.S. Chemical Weapons Decision
TA062002 Ankara ANATOLIA in Turkish
1845 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Text] Ankara (AA)—In a statement during a news conference in Ankara today, Yevgeny Utkin, the press under secretary at the Soviet Embassy, said that his country denounced the U.S. resolution to resume the production of chemical weapons, and called on all countries to exert efforts for disarmament in that field.

Terming as unfounded the allegations that the Soviet Union has 250,000 to 700,000 tons of chemical weapons stockpiled and that it is superior to the United States in that field, Utkin said that all Soviet chemical weapon stockpiles total no more than 50,000 tons.

He noted that the Soviet Union has stopped producing such weapons and has never used them or stored them abroad. He added that although his country has denounced the U.S. resolution to resume producing chemical weapons, it will not withdraw from talks being held in Geneva for the destruction of chemical weapons; on the contrary, it will increase its efforts in this field.

Recalling that the Turkish stand on this subject was well-known, he said that his country had been assured that no chemical weapons exist in Turkey.

Latin America & Caribbean

Nicaragua Ready for Monitoring Commission
LD071045 Moscow TASS in English 1037 GMT
7 Jan 88

[Text] Managua January 7 TASS—Nicaragua is ready any time to welcome an international commission to monitor military and civilian installations under the Guatemala agreements, Nicaragua's deputy minister of internal affairs has said here.

Luis Carrion, speaking after a meeting with an international commission on verification, said that his country had lived up to its commitments. At the same time, there were countries violating the agreements and continuing their assistance to gangs of counterrevolutionaries, allowing them to use their territory to stage acts of aggression against Nicaragua.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Interviews Cuba's Camacho
PM061125 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
1 Jan 88 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with Julio Camacho, member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Politburo, by Captain Second Rank V. Kocherov: "January 1 Is Cuban National Holiday—Liberation Day. The Revolution Continues"; date and place of interview not given]

[Excerpts] When I first saw Julio Camacho, I remembered his persistent, appraising gaze, his athletic build. I knew that Julio Camacho is a member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Politburo, but it was only later that I learned that he is a man with whom the revolutionary chapter in the biography of the Island of Freedom is closely linked. [passage omitted]

[Kocherov] Cuba has its own particular difficult path of development. But any path means not only a smooth highway but also potholes and trackless wastes. With what is the process now underway in Cuba of rectifying mistakes and combating negative tendencies associated, and how effective is it?

[Camacho] Today the country is experiencing an important historic stage, which is linked with rectifying the mistakes of the past. At the present we are conducting quests for new ways to resolve the problems facing us. This indicates that the restructuring and reforms under way in the USSR and other countries of socialism are also topical for us. We are seeking ways to boost the efficiency of economic leadership and the use of resources, and boost labor productivity. That is, we are seeking possibilities for making better use of the advantages of socialism which will not only have a favorable impact on boosting the people's prosperity, but will also help us to strengthen the country's defense and economic potential. The following facts alone indicate that we are on the right road. The plan for the country's socioeconomic development in 1988, ratified by the second session of the National Assembly held on the eve of the New Year, envisages a 2-3% increase in the gross national product and a 5-6% increase in exports. Appropriations for public health and educational needs and the construction of housing and sociocultural facilities will be considerably increased.

In accordance with existing tradition, deputies decided to call 1988 on Cuba the "year of the 30th anniversary of the revolution." Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and chairman of the republic's State Council and Council of Ministers, stated at the close of the session that next year will be a year when Cuba consolidates the process of rectifying mistakes and eliminating negative trends.

[Kocherov] As is well known, the Cuban revolution took place under conditions of a U.S. blockade and constant attempts to halt the process of socialist transformations and reverse the history of Cuba. Today, the situation in

the world is changing. New political thinking, which resulted in the Treaty on Intermediate-range and Shorter-range Missiles, is becoming increasingly perceptible in relations between states. Is the influence of this process having an impact on relations between Cuba and the United States?

[Camacho] We approve the signing of the Treaty on Intermediate-range and Shorter-range Missiles.

The nature of imperialism and its aggressive essence have not changed. This is illustrated by the regional conflicts in various areas of the planet which have been unleashed by imperialism. There is still tension in relations between Cuba and the United States. Some people in the United States do not want to understand that Cuba has long been different from what it was 29 years ago... And other countries in Latin America no longer want to live under U.S. diktat. Therefore, while completely supporting the peace-loving efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, we will continue to devote primary attention to questions of improving defense.

In conclusion, I want to send via KRASNAYA ZVEZDA the most cordial New Year congratulations to servicemen in the Soviet Armed Forces, who are guarding socialism and peace.

CPSU Greets Argentine Communists on Jubilee
PM061325 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 88
Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee message to Argentine Communists]

[Text] To the Communist Party of Argentina [PCA] Central Committee.

Dear comrades!

The CPSU Central Committee sends ardent congratulations to the PCA Central Committee on the 70th anniversary of the party's creation.

The PCA was formed under the direct influence of Great October. Operating in a different situation, the PCA has spent many years in underground conditions, persecuted by reaction, and constantly striving to unite the working class and all anti-imperialist and democratic forces in order to implement fundamental socioeconomic transformations. The PCA has always combined the struggle for genuine national interests with devotion to internationalist positions, upholding the right of all the peoples to make their own social and political choice.

The CPSU and PCA are united by traditional ties of fraternal friendship. We highly value the PCA's support for the 27th CPSU Congress' declared course of the revolutionary renewal of Soviet society, the ideas of the new thinking, and the lines of creating a nuclear-free,

nonviolent world and all-embracing system of international security, on the way toward which the signing between the USSR and the United States of the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles was an important milestone.

We express confidence that cooperation between our parties, based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and on mutual respect, equality, and solidarity, will continue to develop on the basis of awareness of a common responsibility in the face of the new realities of the world today.

On the 70th anniversary of the founding of the PCA, the CPSU Central Committee wishes the PCA Central Committee and all Argentine Communists successes in their activity in implementing the decisions of the 16th PCA Congress and the strengthening of its influence in the working class and among broad strata of the country's population.

Long live friendship between the CPSU and PCA, between the Soviet and Argentine peoples!

The CPSU Central Committee.

Political & Social

Gorbachev, Others Visit Economic Exhibition PMO71319 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS headline: "Technical Arsenal of Restructuring"]

[Text] Machine-building has a key role in the modernization of the national economy and the intensification of all its branches in implementing the scientific and technological revolution. This is precisely why the program of modernization of the machine-building complex, approved by the June 1986 plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, is one of the most important integral parts of the concept of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development.

The exhibit organized at the USSR Exhibition of National Economic achievements demonstrates graphically how energetically this program is being implemented.

On 6 January Comrades Gorbachev, Vorotnikov, Zaykov, Ligachev, Ryzhkov, Slyunkov, Solomentsev, Cherbrikov, Demichev, Dolgikh, Talyzin, Biryukova, Dobrynin, Lukyanov, Razumovskiy, and Kapitonov acquainted themselves with the exhibition. Also present at the exhibition were Silayev and Tolstykh, deputy chairmen of the USSR Council of Ministers; Volskiy, head of the machine-building department of the CPSU Central Committee; USSR ministers, scientists, and leading machine-building specialists. Machine-building Associations and enterprises, institutes and design offices displayed more than 2,500 high-efficiency machines, technological lines, machining centers, and means of automation. The exhibition gives an overall idea of how the process of developing and assimilating new kinds of machine-building output, the development of industrial science, the modernization of production and refinement of its forms of organization are proceeding. Sections at the exhibition have been allotted to cadre provision for the machine-building complex, to the solution of social problems, the production of consumer goods, and international integration in machine-building.

An active process of developing new generations of technology that enable labor productivity to be increased many times over is taking place in the industries. Machinery, equipment, and instruments are increasingly packed with electronics, taking on fundamentally new qualities. A wide range of computers, some of the newest systems for automated design and controlling the most complex technological processes, are on display at the exhibition. The new, effective approach to developing equipment for the entire technological cycle in the fundamental national economy complexes is graphically demonstrated. The contribution of the machine-builders to implementation of the party's social policy is growing. This is expressed in the development of an increasing

amount of high-efficiency equipment for the light and food industry, for trade and services. The way in which enterprises are expanding the construction of residential houses, social, cultural, and consumer facilities, improving medical services and creating favorable opportunities for study and leisure in their collectives is demonstrated.

The steady strengthening of the role of the human factor, the development of initiative and efficiency and the increase in responsibility for the work of restructuring being carried out in the country are displayed in specific examples. The profound interest of labor collectives in the transfer to economic methods of management, financial autonomy and self-financing, and in the expansion of democracy is clearly evident.

Our friends, the CEMA countries, are participating widely in the development of new technology. International integration accelerates the advance of the machine-building of fraternal countries in the priority directions of scientific and technological progress.

During the inspection of the exhibition there was a frank and demanding conversation about the need to satisfy more fully the immediate and long-term demands of the national economy for highly efficient machine-building products.

Summing up the results of the exchange of views that took place, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev noted that the main importance of the exhibition lies in its reflecting very important practical steps in the main direction of the restructuring of the machine-building complex—ensuring that the equipment being developed is brought up to world-class level. The exhibition gives an unambiguous answer: solving this most complex and exceptionally responsible task is within the powers of our machine-builders. No copying of foreign models, even the best, but creating advanced equipment that outstrips them by far on the basis of the achievements of Soviet science—that is the course of the machine-building complex, which is called upon henceforth to provide a reliable technical arsenal for the intensification of the national economy.

It has to be said that the machine-builders have worked well. In our time, the CPSU Central Committee general secretary stressed, it is now vitally important to display the shoots of the new things engendered by restructuring.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev drew the attention of the leaders of ministries and departments, specialists, and scientists to just how important it is now to consolidate oneself in frontranking scientific and technological positions and to move ahead faster, constantly to augment work in the main directions of the program of modernization of machine-building. This applies first and foremost to increasing the pace of development of

machine-tool building, electrical engineering, instrument building, accelerating the move toward more electronic equipment that is produced, and creating special subassembly production facilities to do this. The lagging behind of industrial science needs to be decisively overcome.

It was stressed particularly that now, when the most difficult period of restructuring has started, when it is affecting the most deep-lying processes in the economy, it is becoming increasingly evident that the party has made no mistake in assessing the role and importance of machine-building and has acted correctly in having set special state priorities for its rapid development. Indeed, in the final analysis, it is the foundation for rapid renewal of the productive apparatus of the country, the materialization of scientific ideas, and the attainment of consistently high rates of growth in the national income and solution of social problems.

Raising the machine-building complex to the highest level of world practice is today a task of immense economic and political importance, and everyone, first and foremost the labor collectives in machine-building and related industries, the machine-building ministries, the central economic bodies and local party organizations, is obliged to take an active part in resolving it. No deviation from the program for modernization of machine-building that has been adopted and the state priorities accorded to it can be permitted.

Confidence was expressed that all the necessary strength and means will be found to resolve the tasks posed for the machine-building complex by the party. Wishes were voiced for further successes in this important and intensive work.

Health Official Discusses New Psychiatry Law
LD061630 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1208 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jan (TASS)—Improvement of medical aid, strengthening of the social care taken of patients, legal guarantees against possible mistakes and abuse, such is—in the definition of Aleksey Moskvichev, USSR deputy minister of health—the essence of the new regulation on the way of rendering psychological aid in the USSR.

Commenting in his talk with TASS Correspondent Eleonora Sutotskaya on this document, which was approved by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet (Parliament), Moskvichev stressed that such acts used to be departmental. The fact of adoption of the document on a parliamentary level bears witness to the attention of the Soviet state to issues of psychiatry.

The regulation confirms the totally free medical help to mental patients. The credo of Soviet psychiatry is using the most humane methods of treatment and favorable therapeutic regimens in hospitals, Moskvichev stressed.

Forceful treatment is used against mental patients who have committed criminal offenses, and even then only when it is ruled by the court of law. However, it will be conducted at hospitals of the public health bodies.

Psychiatry is a rather sensitive affair, Moskvichev went on to say. Whether the used diagnosis or form of treatment is correct or not—these questions are, perhaps, more acute here than in any other field of medicine. The document has taken that into account, having expanded the right of patients and their relatives to insist on objective diagnosis. In particular, the institute of chief psychiatrists in towns and oblasts is being introduced in order to monitor the correct application of medical measures to mental patients.

The criminal responsibility of a doctor for the mistakes and abuse that might occur when rendering psychiatric help becomes a legal guarantee from them, Moskvichev stressed. The monitoring of the abidance by legality when rendering psychiatric help by the public health bodies is carried out by the USSR Procuracy.

A great deal of attention is paid in the USSR to the social security of people with mental illnesses. They are guaranteed priority on the housing list, free supply of drugs, and opportunities for employment in accordance with their health.

Plenum Speaker Attacks Demirchyan; Storm Ensues
PM061617 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 2

[Special correspondents S. Bablunyan and T. Khudyakova article: "Criticism According to Old Recipes. From the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Yerevan—The report by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau on the leadership of restructuring in Armenia was eagerly awaited. Not just because it dealt with matters of vital importance, that goes without saying. The CPSU Central Committee June (1987) Plenum harshly criticized the republican party organization for the state of the economy, for failures in the ideological and moral sphere, for lack of proper exactingness toward cadres, and in connection with instances of bribery, speculation, and protectionism. The republican Communist Party Central Committee was instructed to analyze from a principled standpoint the state of affairs within the party organization and in the republic as a whole.

What was the republic's reaction to this criticism? Many labor collectives and party organizations accepted it as a guide for action. Party, soviet, and economic organs and public organizations have recently received more than 16,000 letters suggesting how the situation could be changed and criticizing shortcomings. More than 200 primary party organizations deemed the work of their

bureaus to lead restructuring to be unsatisfactory and elected new secretaries. More than 450 members of elected organs were replaced.

But what changes occurred within the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee, how principled was its assessment of the situation in the republic? The plenum was expected to answer these questions. K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Central Committee, who delivered the report, informed the plenum participants of positive changes in the economy, agriculture, and social and cultural building. He described the measures being taken by the Central Committee to step up party and ideological work. Summing up the results, the speaker said that the Central Committee Bureau is critical of its own work and admits that it is still not fully in line with the party's present demands.

In general, it was just another report: moderately critical, but mainly bland. At any rate, the audience received constant assurances from the rostrum that everything is as it should be. But the report lacked the most important thing: a clear-cut answer to the question of how restructuring is to be conducted in the future. The repetition of familiar conclusions about the need for radical economic reform, serious changes in the social sphere, alterations in the style and methods of party work, and skillful selection and placement of cadres would probably have been quite appropriate had it been based on the specific situation in the republic. But they remained nothing but conclusions, and were followed by general expressions: "be more resolute in getting rid of," "strengthen accountability and monitoring," "enhance exactingness," "tackle more drastically..."

Evidently clearly aware of the report's vulnerability as regards basic positions, K.S. Demirchyan himself described its tone as follows: If we tell the whole truth, the people will lose heart; if we were pull our punches, we will demoralize the masses. Therefore, you must understand, we opted for the "golden" mean.

The report's tone predetermined the thrust of the discussion of it. Even though it was said from the rostrum that there is a great need for criticism in the contemporary conditions, the majority of those who spoke in the debate (there were 17 speakers) presented the traditional departmental bland reports [samootchety] familiar from the old days: This is good, this is bad, the causes are mainly to be found far away, and everyone must be called more strictly to account.

There was, of course, some criticism but, in our view, it was muted and apologetic.

This is how some Communists criticized the Armenian Central Committee Bureau for the style and method of organizational party work. L.G. Saakyan, first secretary of the Yerevan party gorkom, worker L.A. Ayvazyan, and S.Kh. Gevorkyan, party bureau secretary at Sasunikskiy Sovkhoz, said that party work is frequently

supplanted by day-to-day economic matters, the apparatus leads the republican party organization in the name of the Central Committee, Central Committee members have no assignments or specific sector of work, and unjustifiably large numbers of resolutions are handed down to local level.

These speeches did not change the atmosphere at the plenum. Everything would have ended on an upbeat note had it not been for S.M. Khachatryan, chairman of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Party Commission, who urgently asked to speak after attempts were made to close the debate. He stated that he had been refused the floor twice at the last plenum. In his words, the report and many of the speeches contained mostly half-truths. There is bribery within the republican law enforcement organs. Moreover, punishment is usually meted out to the "small fry," while the major thieves, including senior party officials, rayon prosecutors, and ministers, remain untouched. A consolidation of both healthy and conservative forces has now emerged in the republic.

Attempts were made to prevent S. Khachatryan from speaking, his speech was continually interrupted by heckling from the hall, he was accused of slander and told to leave the rostrum. But he said everything that he wanted to. That marked the beginning of the plenum's "second part," after the official plenum, which was essentially already over. Khachatryan was followed on the rostrum by G.S. Kotandzhyan, first secretary of the Razdanskiy party raykom. In order to get an impression of the audience's reaction to this, it is necessary to turn back to his speech at the July 1987 plenum. At that time he spoke of the "black economy" which has developed on a vast scale and of the practice of overreporting. Of the fact that, in these circumstances, some leaders have compromised themselves via open protectionism, bribery, and methodical disinformation of the republic's Communists and working people. At that time Kotandzhyan openly suggested that K.S. Demirchyan resign and that the next plenum examine the question of changes in the membership of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau.

At this plenum G. Kotandzhyan basically repeated what he had said earlier. He also added that the events that followed his speech at the July plenum are more than anything reminiscent of sanctioned provocations and persecution involving name-calling and the falsification of documents and evidence. In these circumstances he can no longer rely on an objective attitude on the part of the leaders of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee and is therefore forced to ask the CPSU Central Committee to investigate the prevailing situation.

It would seem that the time had come for the plenum to engage in a frank conversation on the substance of the questions raised by the speaker: Are things as he describes them or not? As the CPSU Central Committee

June (1987) Plenum said, living and working in conditions of expanding democracy means not fearing debates or clashes of opinions and positions. This is a natural process, necessary in the quest for truth. Here it is appropriate to add that, in today's conditions, special importance attaches to the ability to engage in polemics and to standards in ideological or any other disputes.

Unfortunately, the discussion at the plenum we are describing was more than stormy, but what was the topic of discussion? Kotandzhyan himself! Accusations of demagoguery, slander, improper behavior, abuse of the patience of party members, opinionatedness, careerism, political adventurism, and pseudopatriotism simply rained down from the rostrum.

Twenty-four speakers expressed their judgment of Kotandzhyan's personality. Only one tried to steer the course of discussion in a different direction—V.A. Kondratyev, senior official of the CPSU Central Committee, who was attending the plenum. But his call was drowned in a chorus of indignation. On the contrary, as if to compensate for the sobering advice, the subsequent orators spoke even more heatedly—one of them even described Kotandzhyan as schizophrenic.

Strangely enough, this atmosphere of rejection of criticism of the republic's leadership was backed by K.S. Demirchyan, first secretary of the Central Committee, who described what was going on as... cleansing. Who was being cleansed of what? Of the shortcomings described by Communist Kotandzhyan, or of him personally?

The speakers at the plenum demanded that G. Kotandzhyan's behavior be condemned, that he be expelled from the party, that he be relieved of office as raykom first secretary, that he be expelled from the Central Committee.

Out of this whole selection of proposals, it was decided that the plenum resolution should read: to condemn Kotandzhyan's behavior and to deem his speech erroneous. The special commission headed by Yu.P. Kochetkov, second secretary of the Central Committee, already set up after the last plenum to verify Kotandzhyan's statements, was instructed to continue its work and report its results to a Bureau session.

Be that as it may, Kotandzhyan's so-called condemnation is merely an episode, albeit a serious one, which only goes to confirm the main conclusion: There was no principled discussion of vitally important problems at the plenum. Hardly anyone would object to the contention that this is precisely what the situation in Armenia needs. And this was no condemnation, it was rather a demonstration of loyalty to the leadership.

The genuine democratism and glasnost, which were in such short supply at the plenum, are an absolute condition for the success of restructuring and the solution of not only ideological and political but also economic and social problems. Unless this condition is met, advance is impossible.

Shcherbitskiy Views Path of Soviet Ukraine

AU051741 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian
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[Report delivered by V.V. Shcherbitskiy, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee first secretary, at the 25 December 1987 solemn session of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and Supreme Soviet dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the establishment of Soviet rule in the Ukraine: "Under the Banner of the Great October, Along the Line of Restructuring"]

[Text] Dear comrades, esteemed guests: The jubilee year 1987 is passing into history. Every day new events are filling the political and labor calendar of the 8th decade of Soviet rule. But our memory will take us back time and again to the emotional and festive days of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

There is every ground to assert: as the October days of 1917 shook up the world, so the Great October jubilee days attracted the attention of all mankind. We take pride in the fact that our state rose before the world in all the grandeur of its revolutionary renewal as a real vanguard in the struggle for peace and social progress. And like the days of the October storm, the Leninist party is also filled today with young and fervent energy. This party confidently leads our people along the path of the revolution!

The Great October jubilee proved to be a political epoch-making event. The thorough analysis of our history and of the present political situation in the country and in the international arena, contained in the report made by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, at the solemn session in Moscow, along with the important theses and assessments set forth in this report, have provided us with a clear understanding of the immediate and long-term tasks and ways to accomplish them. The materials of the solemn session have enabled us to deepen our understanding of the strategic importance of the decisions of the April 1987 CPSU Central Committee plenum and the 27th Party Congress aimed at accelerating development and at restructuring in all spheres of public life.

The jubilee celebrations confirmed once again that there was no alternative to the policy of restructuring.

At the meeting of party and movement's representatives in Moscow and in numerous responses from the world public to the meeting, it was noted how highly responsible our party and state were in handling the global problems of civilization. The concept of new political thinking, brought forward by the party, is winning ever more followers.

The recent meeting held by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, with U.S. President R. Reagan convincingly confirmed the growing prestige of Soviet foreign policy. Like all people of good will, the Ukraine's people received the results of the Soviet-U.S. talks with great satisfaction.

Comrades, the Soviet Ukraine's working people always remember that two historic dates—that of the October victory in Petrograd and that of the First All-Ukrainian Congress of the Soviets—closely followed each other. Soviet rule was proclaimed in the Ukraine merely a month and a half after the October Revolution. Life has fully confirmed the correctness of the choice made by the Ukraine's working masses.

Thanks to the Great October and the Leninist party, the Ukraine's people have won socialist statehood and have achieved a real national rebirth.

The October Revolution has ensured the republic's ascension to the heights of socioeconomic progress.

The October remains an inexhaustible source of our revolutionary and ideological inspiration.

While commemorating the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of Soviet rule in the Ukraine and of the formation of the Ukrainian SSR, the republic's Communists and working people are directing their energies toward the consolidation of the material and intellectual potential of our great multinational homeland.

In connection with this historic date, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee, Supreme Soviet Presidium, and Council of Ministers commissioned me to convey cordial congratulations and the wishes of new successes in socialist construction to the participants in this solemn session and to all people of the Soviet Ukraine.

I. Along the Path of Socialist Creation [subhead]

Comrades: The struggle waged by the working people to establish Soviet rule in the Ukraine was an integral part of the all-Russian revolutionary process. This is precisely the context in which we view the revolutionary situation in the Ukraine at that time, its driving forces, and the tactics used by Bolshevik organizations.

The history of those times was filled with events. The situation was complex, contradictory, and sometimes even dramatic. On the one hand the political consciousness of the masses, under the impact of Leninist ideas, was growing stronger, and the revolutionary forces were rallying. The workers class, which then numbered 3.6 million, or one-fifth of the Russia's proletariat, was advancing in their vanguard. Bolshevik organizations were growing in number and in strength. On the other hand, Menshevik, a social revolutionary, and bourgeois nationalist organizations were trying to unite the forces which opposed the socialist revolution, and to realize their separatist intentions aimed at independence.

V.I. Lenin closely followed the revolutionary struggle developing in the Ukraine. He kept in close touch with Bolshevik organizations and steered their activity toward the struggle for the triumph of the revolution. In November and December 1917 alone, Lenin received in the Smolnyy Palace 30 party, soviet, workers and peasant delegations from the Ukraine. During this same period, the Council of People's Commissars discussed questions concerning the Ukraine on 45 occasions.

Also characteristic was the fact that, in the invaluable Leninist theoretical legacy, there are more than 1,000 works, letters, and documents concerning the Ukraine. This is for us a real treasury of experience, a rich ideological arsenal which helps accomplish complex current tasks.

In his analysis of the situation in the Ukraine, Lenin gave us an instructive example of how to take accurate account of the dialectics of class and national traits in social development. He helped the Bolsheviks in the Ukraine clearly define their positions and lead the masses behind them. When the main question, that of power, became critically acute, this proved to be of decisive importance.

Lenin's "Manifesto to the Ukrainian People With an Ultimatum to the Central Council [Rada]" definitely deprived nationalists of the mask of champions of national freedom. He helped the Bolsheviks debunk before the people the perfidious objectives of the nationalist Central Council [Rada] which embarked upon the path of the open struggle against the Soviet authorities.

The day of the First All-Ukrainian Congress of the Soviets, 25 December 1917, has forever been recorded in our history as the birthday of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The congress settled the problem of the Ukrainian people's self-determination and of establishing close alliance with Soviet Russia. It should be emphasized once again: It was only this alliance that guaranteed the Ukraine's working people their freedom and independence, that guaranteed the realization of their cherished dream—the formation of their national, truly sovereign Ukrainian workers and peasant Soviet state.

The question of uniting Bolshevik organizations all over the Ukraine was also made feasible. While overcoming, in a creative quest and in sharp discussions, some left-wing and separatist views, consistent internationalist principles were developed for construction and for the activity of the Ukraine's Communist Party.

The historic merit of the First Congress of the Ukrainian Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks) lies in the fact that it established the Ukrainian Communist Party as an inalienable part, as a combat detachment of one single Leninist party.

The years of the civil war were for the Ukraine's working people years of difficult trial. The republic was the arena of fierce battles, an object of an intense political and diplomatic struggle. The German and Austro-Hungarian occupation, the Entente's invasion, and the intervention on the part of the Polish landlords combined with the furious pressure exerted by Denikin's and Wrangel's armies, with the Petlyurite [Petlyura, a Ukrainian national leader] terror, and with the bestial kulak banditry. The very existence of Soviet rule in the Ukraine was repeatedly at stake.

The Ukraine's workers and peasants would, of course, have found it difficult or even impossible to hold their ground without Soviet Russia's all-round support. Lenin's words that the Russian and Ukrainian workers should "go along in the closest alliance, because, in isolation, we certainly will not manage," were received by the working people as a guidance for action.

It is our sacred duty to keep the remembrance of Leninist revolutionaries, of the fighters of the young Red Army, of partisans, the Red kossacks, and of patriots-internationalists fresh, and to pass it from generation to generation. Their names have been made immortal in our party and state history, in the grateful memory of the people. Glory and respect be to them!

The initial period of peaceful socialist construction filled an instructive page in history. Indeed, Lenin's genius, the scope of his world outlook, and the boldness of his theoretical thought were necessary to work out, under very complex circumstances, a concrete plan for the construction of a new society.

As is known, the new economic policy held a prominent place in this plan. The theory and practice of those times had become an important source of ideas for shaping the present attitudes toward the restructuring of economic management, attitudes that have been embodied in the decisions of the 27th Party Congress and of the successive CPSU Central Committee plenums.

The formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—unique in its community nature to our country's peoples and ethnic groups—was indeed a historic service of V. I. Lenin and of the Party of the Bolsheviks. The Soviet Ukraine was among the initiators of its creation.

And the life-giving strength of the Leninist friendship among peoples has helped our republic's working people accomplish the most complex tasks at all stages of building a new society.

As we can see, the practical implementation of the basic principles of socialism began in V.I. Lenin's lifetime. He personally guided the large-scale innovative work. The first foundations were laid for a new system.

But after the irreparable loss—Vladimir Ilich's premature death—the internal party struggle sharply intensified. The Trotskyites, or the so-called "new opposition," appeared. What complicated the situation in the Ukraine were the activities of national deviationist elements, and the subversive acts of anti-Soviet centers abroad and of nationalist emigres. In this struggle, the party resolutely defended the Leninist concept of building socialism.

The changes carried out in the first 5-year periods seem to be gigantic even by the present standards. With enormous efforts and an unprecedented enthusiasm, the working people created powerful outposts of socialist industry. The Dnepr hydroelectric power station, at that time the most powerful in the world, was built in less than 5 years. Metallurgical giants—the "Zaporozhstal," the "Krivorozhstal," and the "Azovstal"—were put into operation along with the Novokramatorsk heavy machine building plant, the Kharkov tractor plant, and many other enterprises.

Collectivization was a turning point of historic importance in the consolidation of the positions of socialism. Having provided a social base for modernizing the entire agrarian sector, collectivization made it possible to mobilize material and human resources for the growing industry, for the country's economic and cultural progress. The million-strong peasantry turned into the class of collective laborers.

But the transition to collective farming was a long way from simple. The unjustified haste, the predominantly administrative methods of control, the gross violations of the principle of free will, and the deviations from the line set for the treatment of the middle peasants and for the struggle against the kulaks complicated the situation in the countryside very much. In addition, an unparalleled drought came. All this brought about serious difficulties in food supplies late in 1932 and early in 1933; and in a number of rural localities, even famine.

In the West, various things have been written about those difficult times. There are still political speculations even today. But the truth is that, under those circumstances, the Soviet government did everything possible to provide relief for those in the areas affected by this calamity in the Ukraine, in the Don, the Kuban, and the Volga valleys, in the Southern Urals, and in Kazakhstan.

In the course of socialist construction, the economic basis of society was changing; a new, socialist culture was coming into being, and its values were strengthening. Heritages of capitalism, like illiteracy, were eliminated. An extensive network of training centers, scientific institutes, cultural and educational institutions was taking shape. National cadres were trained at a hastened pace.

Profound economic and cultural changes have radically changed the social features of the Ukraine.

In the process of creating the socialist way of life, a new man, a new attitude to labor, and a new psychology were taking shape. Shock work and the mass Stakhanovite movement became the true symbols of the labor enthusiasm of those times. The number of 5-year plan heroes, renowned production organizers, prominent scientists and cultural figures went into hundreds and thousands.

The reunification of the Western Ukraine, the northern part of Bukovina, and Khotinskiy, Akermanskiy, and Izmailskiy Counties with the Soviet Ukraine was an important historic event. Thus all Ukrainian lands were reunited within one single state union. The process of consolidating the Ukrainian socialist nation was thus completed.

The heroic times of creating a new system have forever remained in the memory of the people. In this memory, the thirties are associated not only with heroic accomplishments, but also with bitter and tragic losses. The notorious "theory" of the class struggle intensifying in the process of building socialism provided grounds for mass repressions. The gross violations of legality and groundless accusations of political errors and nationalist deviations which were raised against many party, administrative, and economic functionaries, against cultural and scientific figures, also incurred in our republic.

As is known, the party has strictly condemned the cult of Stalin and its consequences. Thousands of innocent victims have been reinstated, their honest names cleared. In conformity with the decisions of the October 1987 CPSU Central Committee plenum, an examination is in progress of facts and documents concerning those times, both new ones and those known before.

It is to be pointed out that also in the history of shaping Soviet rule in the Ukraine there are some periods and events which require additional study and elucidation. In this connection, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has commissioned the Institute of the History of the Party and the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences to objectively, on the basis of historical documents, study and define more precisely a number of questions, and to make appropriate proposals.

Comrades, the Great Patriotic War was a severe test for the viability of socialism. The question was: Would we protect the revolutionary October achievements, or would we lose them?

Along with all Soviet people, the Ukrainian people rose in defense of the multinational Soviet homeland. A total of 4.5 million inhabitants of the republic fought in the ranks of the Soviet Army. Nearly a half of the republic's party organization went to the front.

A powerful national resistance emerged in the enemy's hinterland. An illegal Central Committee of the Ukraine's Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks), underground obkoms, party and Komsomol organizations, partisan detachments and units operated on the temporarily occupied territory.

Like all Soviet people, the Ukraine's people firmly believed in the victory and did their best to draw it nearer.

The war was also a test of the strength the Leninist friendship among peoples. In the battles for the liberation of the republic, nearly 4,000 representatives of all nations and nationalities won the high titles of Hero of Soviet Union. Among those fighting against the Hitlerites there were also Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Yugoslavs, and antifascists of other nationalities.

Millions of the republic's inhabitants were evacuated to the country's eastern regions. The people will forever cherish the selfless support given them at that bitter hour.

Our great victory was consecrated with the blood shed by the millions. Each sixth inhabitant of the republic died in the Ukraine alone. We bow our heads before their blessed memory.

The wounds inflicted by the war were very painful. But our people accomplished what seemed to be impossible. In one single 5-year period, the cities and villages rose from the ruins and ashes, and the republic's industrial output exceeded the prewar level.

Deep socioeconomic changes were accomplished in west Ukrainian lands. Neither the resistance of the remnant exploiting classes nor the criminal acts perpetrated by Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists gangs put an end to the working people's craving for a new way of life. Owing to the advantages of planned economy, the local economic and cultural backwardness was overcome very rapidly, a strong industrial base was created, and agricultural production switched over to the collective tracks.

The land of the Soviets confidently pursued a path of economic, scientific, and technological progress. The Soviet people reclaimed virgin lands, were the first to put atomic energy in man's service, and paved the path into space. The material and cultural standards of the working people were rising.

As noted in the documents of the jubilee celebrations in Moscow, the 20th CPSU Congress became an important landmark in our history. Much was done to foster democracy, to renew socialist legality, and to make use of economic incentives.

However, contradictions between the new tasks and the old management methods were then growing increasingly more perceptible, and this complicated our advance, impeded advanced initiatives. The economic reforms of those times were not supported with efforts to foster democracy, and for this reason did not produce the expected practical results.

The party has assessed the manifestations of voluntarism and subjectivism in the sixties in a principled and fair way, as it did the stagnation processes at the end of the seventies and the beginning of eighties. Having frankly told the people the truth, the CPSU Central Committee spearheaded the process of revolutionary renewal in all spheres of public life.

II. Let Us Be More Energetic in Restructuring [subhead]

Comrades, the complex tasks of restructuring and acceleration are now being solved on the firm foundation created in the 70 years of our country's history. What has been achieved is the outcome of the selfless toil performed by all generations of the workers class, kolkhoz peasantry, and people's intelligentsia.

The historical destiny of the Soviet Ukraine is inseparable from the union state. "In following the path shared by all our republics, in the fraternal alliance with the Russian people and with all our country's nations and nationalities," M.S. Gorbachev said, "the Soviet Ukraine has now emerged as a powerful and beautiful republic with a developed economy, a high level of public education, and an original culture which is socialist in content."

The Ukrainian SSR ranks among the country's metallurgical, machine building, fuel and energy bases; it is a republic with a large chemistry industry, and a developed light industry, and a powerful agro-industrial complex. In the all-union division of labor, our republic's share amounts to nearly a half of the total output of pig iron, to 40% of steel and rolled stock, about 60% of iron ore, one-fifth of grain, more than 50% of sugar, nearly a half of vegetable oil, and a great deal of other industrial and agricultural products.

The republic's national income and industrial production make up at present one-sixth of the Soviet total, and agricultural output, one-fifth.

These figures are quoted here not only to show what has the system engendered by the October Revolution has given to the Ukraine; in citing these examples, we emphasize that everything achieved in the Ukraine is the

result of common toil, the product of the minds and talents of the republic's working people, as well as of all the country's nations and nationalities.

What counts for us the most is our great responsibility for accelerating the socioeconomic development of the republic, and for restructuring its economy as an inalienable component part of one single all-union national economic complex.

Well aware of this responsibility, the republic's Communists and working people are actively working to implement the socioeconomic program drawn up by the 27th Party Congress. As you remember, this was the point noted specifically when we celebrated the Great October jubilee.

The preliminary results of our work performed in the 2 years of the 5-year period have now been summed up. Here are some of them. The basic national economic tasks will be accomplished. We have managed to exceed a number of important planned indexes, both in quantity and in quality. The republic's special purpose scientific and technological programs have produced an economic effect exceeding R2 billion. The rising technical level of production accounts for two-thirds of the increase in labor productivity, and for the saved labor of nearly 300,000 workers. The targets planned for the output of industrial goods have been exceeded.

There are positive trends in the agro-industrial complex. The average annual level of gross agricultural production has risen by 8.6%, or R4 billion. Despite the drought in six southern oblasts, in the current year the overall yields of grain have exceeded 50 million tonnes.

The rates of increasing the national income have risen 1.2 times compared with the average rates of the last 5-year period.

All there are only the first results of the policy of accelerating and restructuring, and of the growing working people's activity.

Since the beginning of the 5-year period, the working people of Kiev and of Kiev Oblast have worked conscientiously and are welcoming the jubilee in a worthy manner.

Allow me to cordially congratulate the winners in socialist competitions and all working people on the results achieved and to wish them new successes in their work, good luck, and health!

Comrades, it is important to emphasize that, owing to the pursuit of the party's line for the priority development of the social sphere, the settlement of questions concerning the satisfaction of man's material and cultural needs has now improved. The fulfillment of plans for housing construction has stabilized. The area of houses built in the republic in the two years has reached

40 million square meters, including 4.2 million square meters in excess of the plan. The plans have been exceeded for the construction of schools, preschool establishments, hospitals, surgeries, and polyclinics. There are also changes for the better regarding the supplies of goods to the population, particularly of durable goods, as well as of services.

In evaluating what has been done, we at the same time proceed from the point that the republic's jubilee gives us a good chance to concentrate attention on unfinished tasks. Their number is significant, and they are not simple. After all, the practice of renewing production assets, of reequipping production, and of saving material and labor resources still has not been adopted everywhere. We have fallen short of some plans drawn for machine building, ferrous metallurgy, and capital construction. The plans for the output of some agricultural produce have not been fulfilled. Problems concerning the quality of goods are being settled too slowly. There are still many shortcomings in trade and consumer services to the population.

A thorough analysis of all achievements and shortcomings will have to be made at the forthcoming plenum of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee which will examine the Central Committee Politburo's report on the work carried out in control over restructuring, and will outline the ways to accelerate the entire process of renewal.

There is only one conclusion that can be drawn today: restructuring is deepening, is growing more dynamic, and is irreversible. However, we must regard everything that has been done only as the beginning, and must constantly bear in mind that the most complex work is still ahead. What matters most now is to practically implement everything that has been planned.

At the present, second stage of restructuring, the success of the matter will depend primarily on the way party organizations and labor collectives deepen democracy in everyday lives. The logic of democracy requires us to ever more vigorously promote democratic principles directly in production, to expand the practice of electing economic leaders, and to boost the role of elective labor collective councils, whose number is already close to 5,000.

Deepening democracy calls on the soviets of people's deputies, trade unions, the Komsomol, and all public organizations to make wider use of their rights and possibilities. Democratization has posed with new strength the question of raising the standards of the population's political and legal training. Through expanded glasnost, criticism and self-criticism have, naturally enough, invigorated people's intellectual activity.

But democracy has nothing to do with the manifestations of demagoguery, with the attempts to use glasnost for antisocial purposes. True democracy provides for high discipline, for law and order. This is why we will continue the efforts to strengthen them, because we feel that the inalienable feature of socialist democracy is to combine rights with obligations, and freedom with responsibility.

The implementation of economic reform constitutes another key problem on which the success of restructuring depends. The general scheme for the control and restructuring of all organizational structures, which is close to completion, takes into account the new management conditions. The functions of ministries and departments, which should become authentic scientific, technological, and economic headquarters for their branches, will radically change.

Next year, it is essential not only to consolidate, but also to promote positive trends in economic and social development. For this reason, while attaching particular importance to the USSR Law on the Enterprise (Association) and to the fulfillment of the 5-year national economic plans, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee has defined a number of measures which should ensure that the republic's economy is properly restructured.

Particular attention has to be paid to industrial, construction, transport, and agricultural enterprises and organizations which already operate on the principles of full economic accountability and self-financing, or will do so after 1 January. This applies to one-third of all enterprises and associations, which will be accountable for more than one-half of the republic's total industrial output.

While taking into account the fact that the plan worked out for the third year of the 5-year period is intense, the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee and Council of Ministers found it necessary to take all steps necessary to ensure that the targets previously set for saving material resources by the end of the 5-year period are met as early as 1988. If we work well, this can and should be done.

The intensive development of the republic's productive forces, the increasingly acute problem of urbanization and of the rational utilization of natural resources, as well as the lessons taught by the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station, call for a profound scientific elucidation of problems concerning the protection of the environment. The point is to achieve an optimal balance in the "Society-Nature" system and to draft plans for socioeconomic development on the basis of this. To successfully settle this problem, it is essential to further tighten creative cooperation among the scientists of the republic's Academy of Sciences and branch institutes, as well as of the appropriate ministries and departments.

In accomplishing socioeconomic tasks, we count, as always, on a responsible attitude on the part of party organizations, of engineering and technical cadres, and on the active engagement of advanced production workers, innovators, as well as scientists. We are firmly confident that the republic's Communists and all working people are perfectly aware of the duty they owe to the socialist homeland.

Comrades:

The deep changes taking place at present in the nature of social processes, the struggle between everything what is old and what is new call for new attitudes in ideological work. This work is called upon to increasingly cultivate among people the feeling of responsibility for the final results of their work, adherence to principles, and irrecconcilability to any negative phenomena and immoral acts.

In restructuring and in promoting democracy and glasnost, we attach particular importance to the mass media: the press, television, and radio broadcasting. What matters is for them to keep the level of criticism high, and to better elucidate restructuring experience. They are expected to show not only what is to be done, but also the ways to achieve positive results, as well as to enhance the working people's initiative and creative quest.

The dynamism of renewal largely depends on the development of science and culture, and on the growing influence of literature and art on the way of society's life and on its moral and psychological climate.

More efficiency and concreteness are needed in the reform of the general education and the vocational schools, and in the restructuring of higher and secondary special education. The training and education of the younger generation has to be brought closer to real life, and has to facilitate the shaping of clear ideological positions in this generation.

As is known, the entire complex of these questions is to be examined at a plenum of the CPSU Central Committee.

The republic's scientists and art intelligentsia actively support the line taken by the party on the democratization of public life. We are confident that every scientist and art figure will find his or her place in the nationwide undertaking of acceleration and restructuring, and will carry out with credit his or her duty owed to the country.

Socialist internationalism, which has gained a firm hold in the Soviet people's consciousness, is our invaluable achievement. This is a true support for the might of our state. Our task is to further intensify the education of our people, particularly of youths, in the atmosphere of friendship, brotherhood, of respect for the people's revolutionary traditions, history, and culture. The Museum

of the History of the Ukraine's Komsomol, recently opened in Kiev, is particularly expected to play an important role in this sphere.

We must always carefully handle all issues connected with implementing the Leninist nationality policy in the republic, in which representatives of more than 100 nationalities live and work. This is precisely the purpose of the specific measures approved recently by the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee to improve the entire matter of patriotic and international education.

We have every reason to assert that the atmosphere of friendship and mutual respect in relations among nationalities in the republic is absolutely predominant. At the same time, it is largely up to our public to see to it that national sentiments are not used for the purpose of political speculations. After all, some people do not mind abusing glasnost and democracy in order to advertise themselves as the only defenders of national dignity, as the exclusive custodians of the historical heritage, and even—in the spirit of the times—as would-be champions of restructuring.

But our people are perfectly immune to ideologically alien opinions. They understand well that, irrespective of the phraseology used, true patriotism consists in deeds, and not in words. Patriotism is primarily selfless work for the benefit of the homeland, concern for accelerating comprehensive progress in our great multinational homeland.

Comrades:

Life convincingly proves that the success of restructuring largely depends on the energy and purposefulness of party organizations and all Communists, and on the example set by themselves. As the political vanguard of society, our party has spearheaded the process of revolutionary renewal in all spheres of the country's life, and has assumed all responsibility for this process.

As a combat detachment of the CPSU, the Ukraine's Communist Party has in its ranks 3,265,000 Communists. Certainly, this is a great force. But to ensure the success of restructuring, every basic party organization must maximally invigorate the Communists, must offer them full scope for their initiative, and must boost their vanguard role in concrete matters.

It is highly important for party functionaries and all activists to perfect their skills in the sphere of production, science, and technology, of management and economics, of sociology and psychology. This is precisely the purpose of restructuring the entire system of political and economic education.

Under the present conditions, every party member must, in his or her everyday life, aspire to maximally meet the requirements and features inherent in the Leninist ideal of a revolutionary Bolshevik. The features of a pen-push, a bureaucrat, and a careerist are incompatible with this ideal.

What people hold now in high esteem are initiative and high responsibility, the ability to defend their interests, selflessness and moral integrity. The revolutionary nature of restructuring requires from everyone enthusiasm, energy, and selflessness on his or her post.

The 19th All-Union CPSU Conference will undoubtedly be an important event in the life of the party and the country. The plenums and meetings held at present by the Communists in the republic and all over the country to examine party committee and bureau reports on the progress made in restructuring mark a responsible stage in preparations for this conference.

The plenums and meetings held so far passed in an atmosphere of glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism. They have shown that most party organizations were working energetically and were spearheading the restructuring process in deed; it applies to most organizations, but still far from all. Because now it is particularly obvious that in the activity of any party committee or organization there must be only one criterion: real changes for the better, and concrete results in the economic, the social, and the cultural spheres.

Comrades:

There is a direct and indissoluble link between our current matters and concerns, and the situation in which the first revolutionaries, Lenin's guards started. This link consists not only in the ideological unity and the continuity of generations; it consists in our responsibility for the continuation of the cause of the Great October, for the destiny of socialism. We must be worthy of this lofty mission!

III. Let Us Be Active in the Struggle for Peace, for International Cooperation [subhead]

Comrades, on these last days of the year, the Soviet people and the entire world have been living under the deep impression created by an outstanding event which will undoubtedly hold a prominent place in the annals of history. The hopes of the entire planet have come true: The first real steps have been made toward the destruction of nuclear weapons. During M. S. Gorbachev's recent visit to the United States of America, a treaty was signed on the elimination of Soviet and American intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The next step, as is known, should be the solution of questions concerning a substantial reduction in strategic offensive weapons and the prevention of the militarization of space.

The accords reached and prospects for radical changes in the international situation are evidence that the concept of new political thinking, elaborated by our party, finds a response in increasingly wide circles of politicians and the world public. While beating its way—certainly, not without difficulties—through mistrust, suspicions, and the obstacles of militarist ambitions, the new political thinking has become a reality of our times and has begun to produce appreciable results.

One can say that the extensive intervention of "people's diplomacy," of representative public organizations in the sphere of international politics is a sign of our times.

Unfortunately, the threat of a nuclear catastrophe has not been finally averted. As usual, imperialism is craving for a militarist drug, is exploiting developing countries and peoples, and is stirring up the centers of local conflicts. As usual, anti-Sovietism and anticommunism hold strong positions in the policy pursued by the leading western powers.

We should bear in mind that the path to a world free from nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction and to the establishment of civilized principles in international relations is still long and difficult. All peoples and countries may cover this path only together, through common efforts.

In settling international problems, the Soviet Union actively cooperates with the fraternal socialist countries. Our dynamic common foreign policy finds approval in wide circles of the world public, among all those who are faithful to realism. It finds support among the working masses all over the planet. This policy goes as far back as the October Revolution and the first Leninist peace decree!

Comrades, the Soviet Ukraine is also actively participating in the pursuit of our socialist homeland's foreign policy. Universal peace was one of the determined demands raised by the working masses of the Ukraine along with other peoples of Russia at the outset of the revolution. As early as at the first All-Union Congress of the Soviets the resolve was expressed to put an end to the war by revolutionary means. The workers and peasants' government of the Ukraine sent a delegation to Brest Litovsk for talks which was clearly instructed to wage, along with the representatives of Soviet Russia, a common struggle for the conclusion of a peace treaty.

The Soviet Ukraine has always manifested loyalty to Leninist principles, and has firmly upheld our state's foreign political positions and diplomatic actions. Widely represented in the United Nations and other international organizations, the Ukrainian SSR today actively helps to settle important international problems. Representatives of the Ukrainian SSR have signed 149 international treaties. Evidence of the wide international recognition of the Soviet Ukraine is the fact that it was

twice elected as a member of the UN Security Council, and has belonged to the governing bodies of other leading international organizations.

Our republic contributes a significant part in the development of Soviet economic, scientific, and technological cooperation with foreign countries. Our export goods are well known in 120 countries. Relations with the countries of the socialist community are particularly close. Local party organs maintain fruitful contacts with territorial committees of fraternal parties. Direct production contacts among labor collectives are developing.

Within the framework of the comprehensive program for scientific-technological progress in the CEMA member countries, scientific researches have been undertaken in sectors as important as the comprehensive automation and electronization of the national economy, new materials and technologies. With the republic's assistance, our friends are building and reconstructing a number of important national economic facilities. At the same time, many skilled workers and experts are working at our republic's large projects, in particular at the Krivoy Rog oxidized ore mining and enriching combine, at the Khmel'nitskiy and the South Ukrainian atomic power stations, at the Yamburg-Western Border gas pipeline, and at others.

The restructuring processes and our accumulated experience provide wide prospects for further developing mutually advantageous cooperation. The republic is also increasing its assistance to developing countries in the construction of industrial facilities and in the training of cadres. The number of citizens of Asian, African, and Latin American countries trained at present in the Ukraine's educational institutions is close to 18,000.

The republic expands its cultural links with foreign countries, and actively promotes tourism. The Ukraine is an active participant in the sister-city movement. The republic's public performs useful work in the Ukrainian Society for Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, in the "Ukraina" Society, in the Ukrainian SSR Committee for Youth Organizations, and in creative unions.

All these links undoubtedly contribute toward further deepening mutual understanding, good neighborliness, and friendship among peoples.

Unfortunately, in some countries there are forces that dislike such good relations. The Soviet Ukraine has always been a target of increased interest for imperialist propaganda, for special services of western powers, and for their stooges—Ukrainian and Zionist nationalist centers abroad. They do their utmost to falsify our history, to distort the party's nationality policy, and to sow mistrust in the restructuring policy. For this purpose, various anti-Soviet actions are being organized, but they inevitably and certainly end in spectacular failures. Our propaganda and counter-propaganda must

efficiently unmask the perfidious hostile acts, and must thoroughly show the real truth of history. The truth is that the Ukrainian people live full-blooded lives, and with their selfless work within a free and new family build a better future!

Comrades, the goals of the Worldwide Peace Movement are understandable, near and dear to the Ukrainian people who experienced so many sufferings and sorrow during the hard war times. Evidence was another "peace wave" which recently engulfed the cities and villages of the republic and of our entire vast motherland. The people also manifested their noble feelings during the recent labor "Remembrance and Peace" competitions.

The concrete and varied participation of the Ukrainian public in the events of the International Peace Year has been highly assessed by the UN, and the City of Kiev and the republic's Peace Defense Committee were awarded, by a UN decision, the honorary titles of "Peace Messenger."

The people of the Soviet Ukraine fully and entirely approve the peace-loving policy pursued by the CPSU, and support it with their practical deed. The motherland's peace and security is a matter of concern for each of us, for all Soviet people.

Comrades, the Soviet Ukraine has lived and prospered under the October banner, in the union of fraternal republics for 70 years. It has covered a long path filled with heroism, intense work, and great accomplishments. There were also difficulties and failures on this path. But what matters the most is that our people have retained their revolutionary optimism and loyalty to Leninist ideals, have accumulated a rich historical experience, and have created a reliable base for further advance.

This precisely is the guarantee of the success in restructuring, the guarantee that the qualitatively new tasks facing the republic will be accomplished.

(V. V. Shcherbitskiy's report was listened to with great attention and was repeatedly interrupted with applause).

Restructuring Lagging in Transcarpathia Oblast
LD040959 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0600 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] Unfortunately, inertia is still strong in stereotypes. This was shown at a plenum of the Transcarpathia Oblast committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, an account of which is published in IZVESTIYA.

Not by chance is it noted in the report that, judging from the work of the oblast soviet's executive committee, one cannot see whether or not restructuring is proceeding. There is still the same administrating, overorganization, and mass of paperwork. It is the old illness, stresses the

newspaper's special correspondent. The party committees, keeping all questions among themselves, are virtually removing soviet workers from their direct business. Thus is born the habit of living behind someone's back. It is hardly necessary to demonstrate that it is not possible to engage in restructuring without changing thinking, without renouncing obsolete concepts.

Placenames Should Not Be Changed on Whim
PM070933 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Jan 88
Morning Edition p 6

[A. Vasinskiy report: "Naberezhnyye Chelny Is Back"]

[Text] A report has come in: Naberezhnyye Chelny is back. Not that the name was forgotten, it was just that since 1982 people knew it as Brezhnev city. Cheremushki in Moscow has also been reinstated.

They have been restored to their former and rightful place. After all, the new name was superimposed on a place on the map which was already occupied and with a glorious and beloved name—Naberezhnyye Chelny. The same happened to a place which occupied a fond place in the hearts of Muscovites—Cheremushki.

They have been restored... What is there to say? This, of course, is an excellent thing. But what actually happened? The question is not so simple. It has a history of its own.

...An outstanding figure of the fatherland dies. There is natural mourning and measures to perpetuate his memory. There is natural grief. But for some time now the perfectly natural sincere grief has begun to be mingled with alarm at the possibility of losing some revered place-name. The cities where the deceased was born, studied, and lived could suffer the fate of losing their—usually ancient—name. Thus a glorious historical name died along with an outstanding statesman, military leader, and so on. This was like a "sacrifice." That was how Gzhatsk, Izhevsk, Mariupol, Rybinsk, and Liski "died." That was how Naberezhnyye Chelny died, too.

It could be said that in recent years the newspapers carried a great storm of protests at the renaming of cities, but this storm was succeeded by a kind of calm: You no longer heard of new instances of place names being sacrificed.

But if you listen carefully you can make out distant complaints from cities and streets previously renamed—those whose age-old name, given them by history and the people and not a "group of comrades," has still not been restored. Until today they included Naberezhnyye Chelny.

It was striking that Naberezhnyye Chelny "died" quietly. The struggle to reinstate Izhevsk was, I believe, far more determined and vigorous. This does not mean, of course, that the renaming of Naberezhnyye Chelny as Brezhnev

was received without a sense of regret. It is true that at that time the expression "period of stagnation" was not yet in use. Nevertheless, the replacement of the fine name of Naberezhnyye Chelny was bound to cause sorrow and not only to the inhabitants of that city. After all, it was not a matter of the magnitude of the historical services of even a truly outstanding man, but a matter of principle: You cannot rename what has already been given a name by history and is thus sacrosanct, just as you cannot rename rivers, mountains, and planets... You can only give a name to newly built and thus nameless population centers. Let us reiterate: Cities' names are not a sphere for the unthinking spontaneous actions and whims of contemporaries but historic and national shrines.

Party Control Committee Hits BAM Delays
PM061455 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Jan 88
Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee"]

[Text] The question of serious shortcomings on the part of the leaders of several ministries, departments, and sponsoring organizations in the fulfillment of party and government decisions on the construction of social and consumer facilities on the Baykal-Amur Railroad has been examined at the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee has checked progress made in the fulfillment of targets on the construction of housing and social and consumer facilities laid down by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers 12 July 1985 resolution "On Measures on the Further Construction of the Baykal-Amur Railroad." The resolution envisages that the entire railroad will go into continuous operation in 1989 along with the settlements and social and engineering facilities that are being constructed in the form of sponsorship assistance by the construction organizations of union and autonomous republics, krays, and oblasts.

A committee decision adopted on the results of the check notes that the leaders of the USSR Ministries of Railways, of Transport Construction, of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and the Wood-Processing Industry, and many sponsoring organizations are guilty of indiscipline and serious shortcomings in the fulfillment of the aforementioned CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution.

Construction of the majority of settlements on the railroad is behindhand and incomplete. The leaders of the USSR Ministries of Railways and of Transport Construction, when approving the production complexes to be commissioned in a particular year, are incorporating in them volumes of housing and cultural, consumer, and municipal facilities that are too small, thus postponing

the solution of social questions. Of the 45 cities and settlements envisaged by the plan only 12 have been completely constructed; 20 other settlements have been commissioned, but at the moment 19 lack public-sector trading centers, 15 lack baths and laundries, 13 lack various medical establishments, 7 lack clubs, and 6 settlements lack general educational schools. As a result medical establishments, stores, clubs, and municipal services are often located in temporary buildings and premises and nearly 77,000 families are waiting in line for well-appointed housing for Baykal-Amur railroad working people.

Ministries have not yet laid down for each sponsoring organization the volume and dates for the construction of housing and social and consumer facilities in settlements on the railroad and have underestimated the importance and political significance of the sponsorship assistance provided by union and autonomous republics and krais and oblasts. Some settlements are being constructed at an extremely slack pace and funds, especially those allocated for the construction of social, consumer, and municipal facilities, are not being assimilated. The deadlines for the construction of these facilities in the settlements of Fevral'sk and Zeysk in Amur Oblast were not met by sponsoring organizations in Krasnoyarsk Krai and the Bashkir ASSR; in the case of Taksimov in the Buryat ASSR sponsors from Belorussia failed to meet the deadline.

The leaders of Krasnodar Krayispolkom, the Bashkir ASSR Council of Ministers, and the Belorussian Council of Ministers have been uncritical in their assessment of the situation concerning the construction of social facilities in sponsored settlements, they have failed to adopt resolute measures to eliminate the lag and increase the capacities of construction organizations, and they have failed to demand that the leaders of subcontracting ministries and territorial construction main administrations unconditionally fulfill their sponsorship commitments to complete the construction of all facilities no later than 1989.

The USSR Ministry of the Timber, Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry has failed to adopt the requisite measures to ensure the prompt completion of work on the construction of social facilities on the railroad and as a result a number of educational and cultural establishments and trade and municipal enterprises have not been commissioned.

The leadership of the Main Administration for the Construction of the Baykal-Amur Railroad is constantly failing to meet contract pledges for the supply of structures and articles for apartment blocks and social and cultural facilities, is failing to ensure prompt supplies of essential construction materials for sponsors, and is irresponsible in its attitude to the assimilation of capacities at the construction industry enterprises under its jurisdiction. USSR Ministry of Transport Construction

personnel are resigned to the Main Administration leaders' mismanagement of the production capacities at the Shimanovsk and Tayshet construction products combines and Baykal-Amur Railroad brickworks and the poor-quality products they make.

The railroad leaders are constantly failing to make deliveries of equipment for boiler-houses, water-supply facilities, and sewer systems, and for trade and consumer services, planning estimates for construction projects are often supplied late, and maintenance of housing and civil facilities and engineering equipment in commissioned population centers is unsatisfactory.

The CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee drew the attention of USSR Minister of Railways Comrade N.S. Konarev and USSR Minister of Transport Construction Comrade V.A. Brezhnev and deputy ministers Comrades N.K. Isingarín and O.N. Makarov to the serious shortcomings in the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers 12 July 1985 resolution and noted their statements that the ministries, in conjunction with the leaders of sponsorship organizations, will take the requisite steps to eliminate the lag in the construction of housing and social, consumer, and municipal facilities in station settlements and will ensure the completion of work on them within the resolution's timeframe.

CPSU member Comrade V.A. Gorbunov, chief of the Baykal-Amur Railroad, was given a warning as a result of the lag in the construction of social facilities and incomplete construction of settlements and the failure to promptly provide construction projects with planning estimates and equipment.

CPSU member Comrade Ye.V. Basin, chief of the Main Administration for the Construction of the Baykal-Amur Railroad and USSR deputy minister of transport construction, was reprimanded because of the failure to meet contract pledges on supplies of structures and articles to sponsoring organizations and unsatisfactory utilization of production capacities at construction industry enterprises under the Main Administration.

The same punishment was meted out to CPSU member Comrade Yu.K. Abakumov, first deputy chairman of Krasnoyarsk Krayispolkom, for failing to take steps to increase the capacities of the sponsoring construction organization, which resulted in the failure to commission housing, the station, a boiler-house with water intake system, and a kindergarten in the sponsored settlement and failure to fulfill the plan for construction and installation work.

CPSU member Comrade G.M. Osmukhin, deputy chairman of the Bashkir ASSR Council of Ministers, was given a warning as a result of the slow pace of construction of housing and social and cultural facilities in the settlement of Zeysk and failure to take prompt steps to sharply increase the capacities of the sponsoring construction organization.

The attention of CPSU member Comrade V.G. Yevtukh, first deputy chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, was drawn to the inadequate demands made on the leaders of the contract organization in connection with the considerable lag in the construction of housing and social facilities in the settlement of Taksimo.

The attention of Comrade V.A. Sentyushkin, USSR deputy minister of the timber, pulp and paper, and wood processing industry, was drawn to the lag in the construction of social facilities in the Baykal-Amur railroad zone.

The CPSU Central Committee Control Committee noted that Khabarovsk party kraykom and Amur, Buryat, Chita, and Irkutsk party obkoms are not paying enough attention to the construction of housing and social facilities in settlements on the railroad and are failing to call the Communist leaders of construction organizations and the Baykal-Amur Railroad to account for the serious shortcomings and mismanagement at the aforementioned construction sites and told them to examine the results of the check and take steps to ensure the complete fulfillment of the targets set by the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution.

Yakut Minister Complains of Moscow Indifference
PM060925 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Dec 87
Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Yu. Anokhin, Yakut ASSR minister of local industry, under the rubric "Economic Reform: Management and Economic Accountability": "Moscow Is Not Moved by Tears: The Revelations of a Minister from the Boondocks"]

[Text] Geographically, the northeast of the country remains an outlying region of the state, a province, or as the dictionary definition states, a territory remote from the center. The peripheral situation of enterprises located in this region continues to affect their economy, and the problems that arise in this context are many. Having exhausted all permissible and impermissible methods of resolving them I am turning to the newspaper.

A lack of understanding at superior level of the prevailing situation is acting as a braking mechanism. Here is an example of how our relations with the authorities are built. As usual, our team of specialists left for Moscow in August in order to coordinate the plan for the coming year with the RSFSR Ministry of the Local Industry and the RSFSR Gosplan. However, nobody as much as looked at our draft, which had been coordinated with enterprise collectives and the Yakut ASSR Council of Ministers. As a direct participant in the Moscow coordination talks I must say that the whole thing strikes me as a real farce. Hundreds of leading officials and ministry and administration specialists in all krais, oblasts, and autonomous republics are called away from their proper

jobs. And to what end? Only to be presented with cut-and-dried national economic plan indicators, black on white, handed down from the RSFSR Gosplan?

A number of ministry administrations compile our portfolio of orders and indicators. However, the actions of the planners, for instance, are not in the least coordinated with the actions of sector administrations, each being concerned only with their own "set of figures." And it is impossible to prove anything to anyone. No one is interested in what your production area, raw material resources, or equipment are. The opinion of labor collectives interests people even less. The answer to all our proposals and observations in recent years has been the same: "This has been laid down by the RSFSR Gosplan."

After several days of this kind of "coordination" it is the turn of the so-called "defense" at the RSFSR Gosplan local industry section. But there they hardly look at you, much less try to understand or figure out anything. If you object, you may be sure that they will increase your plan. The explanation being: additional targets set by the RSFSR Gosplan. Willy-nilly humble, plaintive tones creep into your voice. Sometimes this helps and they lower your plan by 100,000-200,000. But as a rule, Moscow is not moved by tears.

If you dig in your heels, you are referred to a deputy chairman of the Gosplan for what is described as "arbitration." During the coordination of the 1988 plan, for instance, I did not find support in the ministry and was rejected at the Gosplan section. The leadership of the autonomous republic submitted a number of questions on which differences had arisen for examination by RSFSR Gosplan Deputy Chairman Comrade Zaychikov. It was a question of adopting a decision on the stabilization of the commodity and consumer goods output volumes for 1988 and the allocation of material resources for the production of R7 million worth of goods, or of removing these volumes from the plan, since no raw materials, equipment, or production capacities were available for this purpose.

As a result of the examination, the state target remained in force and at the same time resources were refused. It is up to you to fulfill the plan, we were told. This is the reverse side of the democratization of national economic planning. Yet the intention was that during the switch to new conditions the set indicators—of which, incidentally, there are still plenty in the new forms of accounting—would be formulated from the bottom to the top. However, all this has remained only on paper.

In my opinion, the main hampering factor in the production of consumer goods and the improvement of their quality is the notorious gross output indicator which has been criticized by all and sundry. Irrespective of the restructuring of the economic mechanism and

economic management which is currently under way, the gross output indicator lives on even though it is objectively contra-indicated in our consumer goods sector, for instance.

The millions are planned for us in the abstract, without schedules, without the provision of raw and other materials, equipment, and production capacities, and this is happening furthermore in conditions of strict limits on all types of resources. Finding raw materials for the production of goods in Yakutia, where the allocation of resources is extremely tight, is virtually impossible. This means that our agents will again have to scour the country and spend state money in order to extort and beg resources and then dispatch them by road, since there still is no railroad to Yakutia. What economy can support such expenditure?

Such are the negative "dynamics" of the existing system of planning gross output.

Subjectively laid-down plan volume indicators grip the sector in a steel vice, make it impossible to maneuver as regards the product mix or to organize the production of goods needed by the consumer. I am firmly convinced that in our sector it is necessary to plan the production of goods in terms of physical indicators, as happens in light industry. Such a decision would make it possible to overcome a whole series of "bottlenecks" in the production of consumer goods. Everyone understands, as it were, that what the local industry needs is a flexible plan in "physical terms" (shirts, footwear, furniture...) which are formulated in accordance with trade orders based on consumer demand. But nothing has changed here.

As from 1988, that is literally within days, we are switching to the conditions of self-financing and self-capitalization. However, we are embarking on the new conditions with our old troubles.

We have made some preliminary calculations and have arrived at the depressing conclusion that without subsidies we will not be able to function in the new conditions. The approach to price fixing also remains unchanged. Unfortunately, not enough light has been thrown on this aspect either in the speeches of the country's leading economists or the corresponding decisions concerning the switch to the new conditions of management. What is needed is a differentiated approach to these questions bearing in mind the location of an enterprise in a given part of the country.

Using the Yakut ASSR local industry as an example, it is possible to claim with utmost emphasis that, without changing the prices for the goods produced in conditions of the northeast of the country, it will be impossible for many sectors to switch to the principle of self-capitalization and self-financing. In our region 30% of the prime cost of any output is made up by additional expenditure connected above all with the harsh climatic conditions of life, the special rate for the Arctic, and special payments

in addition to wages. In addition, the prime cost is appreciably pushed up by the cost of the transportation of raw and other materials and equipment and the high cost of production infrastructure services.

All these and other prime cost components push up the wholesale price, while goods are marketed in accordance with unionwide price lists which do not take our additional costs into account. By virtue of these factors alone 22.9% of the autonomous republic ministry of local industry output is loss-making.

In the new conditions of management we will not be able to manage without the modernization of production facilities and without the construction of new shops. But here too there are problems. The cost of construction in Yakut conditions is 3-4 times higher than, for instance, in the central region. However, in accordance with existing regulations the right to grant permission for the construction of projects with an estimated cost of more than R4 million is within the competence of the USSR Gosplan. As a result of this, we have been trying for 2 years to obtain sanction for the construction of a framework furniture production shop in Yakutsk at an estimated cost of R5.19 million, although according to average all-union prices such a project costs only around R1.5 million. For the same reason we are unable to start the reconstruction of the Yakutsk leather and footwear combine.

At the beginning of the year I traditionally report to the sector's labor collectives. How am I to explain to them that the good seeds sown by the party have so far failed to germinate, that departmental barriers remain high, and that many things have not changed at all? This applies both to planning based on past achievements, and plans which are not backed up by resources.

Although I myself believe in the changes, I lack sufficient arguments to transmit this belief to other people.

RSFSR Minister of Light Industry Replaced

PM061659 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian on 30 December 1987 in its Second Edition carries on page 2 an RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree dated 29 December appointing Aleksandr Andreyevich Biryukov RSFSR minister of light industry. This is followed by a report that "the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade B.I. Zatelepa from the post of RSFSR light industry minister in connection with his retirement on pension on health grounds."

Individual Communists Must Justify Authority

PM071149 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "The Communist's Authority. It Is the Duty of Party Organizations to Comprehensively Strengthen It"]

[Text] At a Bashkir CPSU Obkom plenum discussing the Bureau's work directing restructuring, the impassioned, principled speech by "Luch" Kolkhoz machine operator

Kh. Nigmatullin was engraved on many people's memories. The Communist talked about the need for a resolute change of direction toward addressing the needs and requirements of working people and the urgent need to tackle social and cultural problems in the countryside. After all, they are part and parcel of the fulfillment of state plans and deepening of the positive processes initiated after April 1985.

"If certain leaders of the autonomous republic were to spend just a year living in the countryside and working in an ordinary job, what would they think of first?" was the polemical question he put to the audience. "Rape and stubble mulch tillage? Socialist competition? The next selection workers' conference? I am not absolutely sure, of course, but I think they would be concerned about gas supplies in the countryside. This would spare villagers a multitude of material and moral problems."

The speaker criticized obkom secretary A. Lokotchenko and department chief T. Galejev, who deal with agricultural matters. They were both present at a meeting of the republic's party-economic aktiv which discussed the accelerated fulfillment of Food Program targets. A most timely discussion! But for some reason these leaders did not participate in it. They sat there silently like "VIP's at a wedding." In conditions of democratization and glasnost, Khalit Minnullovich said, this work style is unacceptable. Particularly now, at the second stage of restructuring.

Of course, only a man possessing personal authority and a heightened sense of party and civic duty could have come out with such sharp and, at the same time, constructive criticism. Nigmatullin is that kind of Communist. His words are not at variance with his actions. And we have millions of party members of that type in the country.

The Communist's authority... At a time when our party is converting policy into actual practice and many labor collectives are switching to economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing, it is acquiring exceptional significance. In all their actions Communists are meant to be a model of purposefulness, ideological steadfastness, and intolerance of all shortcomings and violations of the norms of socialist legality and morality. We cannot have a dual morality in the party—one that allows truth and lies, one life in the open and quite another behind the scenes, among "friends." It is necessary to develop a truly Leninist style of conduct based on incorruptibility, honesty, and competence.

These qualities make up the moral complexion and authority of Communists, giving them the right to lead others. If they are not respected in the collective there can be no question of steady success and clear purpose in what is undertaken. That is why now, during the accountability reports by elected party bodies and the implementation of the radical economic reform, party organizations are displaying special concern for the

qualitative state of their ranks and the increased authority of every Communist. Demagogues, bureaucrats, frauds, and people who are simply dishonest contradict the very nature of Bolshevism. They are a serious obstacle to restructuring. So struggle against bureaucratic distortions, red tape, the officious, domineering style, and other negative phenomena serves not only to establish order and efficiency but also to strengthen the party's authority among the masses.

"It is time we learned to defend not the honor of the uniform or someone's former, perhaps fake services but the honor of the innovator Communist, the fighter Communist who, in clearing away the obstacles, is not afraid to blaze new trails in the economy and in people's education." Those were the thoughts of G. Rukhadze from Sukhumi. "Genuine authority also needs vigorous support." Well said!

The writers of letters to PRAVDA note that Communist leaders have a considerable part to play in restructuring. Most of them are justifying the great trust placed in them. Our society has embarked on the solution of the fundamental tasks of renewing all spheres of life and their call acquires mighty wings if it is reinforced by relevant action. Unfortunately, some economic managers and party workers have become accustomed to the discrepancy between words and actions and simply cannot break free from the clichés of the old administrative style. They try to nullify principled criticism or adapt the discussion of topical problems to egotistical or group interests. There are also frequent attempts to take violent action against opponents and to preserve their untouchability, their totally crippled "authority."

Here is a typical example. In an article entitled "Your Duty, Party Group," our paper gave extracts from a letter from workers at the "Prapor Komunizmu" Kolkhoz in Zachepilovskiy Rayon, Kharkov Oblast. They talked about chairman N. Puze's grossly arbitrary behavior, the debts to the state running into millions of rubles, and various financial machinations and cases of figure-padding. The critical situation was aggravated by the lack of practical mutual understanding between farm leader, party committee secretary, and rural soviet ispolkom chairman. As Communists have again written to say, even the kolkhoz report and election meeting was held without coordination with the party committee and the management board. The cause of the willful behavior is connivance "from on high." Apparently, certain people in the party raykom are at pains to preserve N. Puze's "honorable name." Although it is clear to many people that he lost his authority a long time ago.

Our times are making heightened demands on Communists, and the correct procedure is not to overlook errors and omissions even by good working people. Recently, for example, the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee examined the question of Ionishkskiy Party

Raykom First Secretary A. Gushchinas's personal participation in the restructuring of the rayon party organization's work. It was noted that it is distinguished by competence, a sense of democracy, and attention to working people's needs. In short, the secretary is making an appreciable contribution to economic development and enjoys well-deserved authority. It would be hard to seriously criticize him, you might think. But party comrades pointed out to the Communist Gushchinas that he tolerates passivity in certain raykom bureau members and rarely levels personal criticism at economic managers guilty of a variety of errors. This kind of exacting discussion will prove beneficial.

The strengthening of Communists' authority is certainly aided in many ways by the accounts by elected party bodies of their leadership of restructuring which are being given in the country at the moment. These accounts are a rigorous review of party organizations' activity in the period since the 27th CPSU Congress and a crucial stage in the preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. We must approach it ideologically and organizationally strengthened.

Let us not forget that the party's authority is made up of the authority of each primary organization and party group and of every Communist. CPSU member V. Artemenko, a Muscovite, put it well in his letter: "Restructuring is proceeding slowly here at the moment. But acceleration depends primarily on us. Personally I want to live and work in such a way that I can hold my head up in the presence of the party and in the presence of my son." It should be added that millions of Communists in the country are thinking along the same lines today.

Punishment of Chernobyl Decisionmakers Urged
PM071505 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 5 Jan 88 p 3

[Article by Yevgeniy Dudar, member of the USSR Writers Union, under the "Direct Speech" rubric: "The Virus of Irresponsibility"]

[Excerpt] Kiev—[Passage omitted] The press recently described the trial of those to blame for the Chernobyl tragedy. Those who were responsible for operating the station received just punishment. But let us look at the situation that occurred there more deeply and ask ourselves whether there was an acute need to build a nuclear power station in such a densely populated area, on the floodplain of major watercourses. Now people cannot remember who first came up with such an "original," essentially brutal and ill-considered, idea. Yet those who gave the project the go-ahead, then "validated" it, and complacently fell in with the opinion of higher authorities are actually known. Why do we not call these people to account? Why do we not name names? Surely the people have the right to know who was responsible, directly or indirectly, for the many misfortunes that have befallen them.

Perhaps these very same people from "Soyuzatome-nergo" are today, despite the outraged voices of the public, constructing the Chigirinskiy nuclear power station? Perhaps the efforts of shortsighted people are resulting in the construction of ecologically unsound dams in the Dnepr estuary? Perhaps they are thinking about the rapid commissioning of the Danube-Dnepr Canal, which will undoubtedly pollute the already far from crystal-clear Slavutich? Obviously, after experiencing a stress like Chernobyl it is time to seek the cause of such "diseases," the carriers of the "viruses" of irresponsibility, and accordingly isolate them from society and prevent their pernicious influence on it. Here we are not talking about retiring people on personal pensions, but, on the contrary, making people personally accountable under the law. Everyone is equal before the law: The traffic controller, the director, the minister, the academician, or the person who gives the instruction to go ahead or stop. If people go unpunished for foolish projects and shortsighted orders society will still have to pay very dearly. [passage omitted]

Culprits 'Laughing' at Exposure of Past Evils

PM061709 [Editorial report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian on 26 December 1987 in its Morning Edition carries on page 3 under the rubric "Reading the Mail" and under the headline "Half-Hearted Measures Taken" a 1,500-word article by Yuriy Orlik, its deputy editor for readers' letters, reviewing the newspaper's recent editorial mail and readers' opinions on the effectiveness of press publications. He writes:

"Readers in general do not have a high opinion of the effectiveness of our publications. A. Ananyev from Saratov writes: 'The newspapers informed us of a shocking act of vandalism: the geneticist Vavilov died of starvation in Saratov jail in 1943. Back in 1948, philosophy lecturers foamed at the mouth and taught us students that the monk Mendel was an obscurantist, while the notorious genes led right back to religious superstition. You can deceive others and even your own self; it is impossible to deceive life and history. and the fact that restructuring is under way testifies that deception will not work....' He goes on: 'But here is what causes indignation. The comrades-in-arms of Vavilov, Postyshev, Chayanov, Vysotskiy, and many, many others are still alive. Consequently, their persecutors must still be alive.... I cannot help thinking that they are laughing at your publications in defense of the truth.' 'We are talking, you are writing,' L. Baranov from Moscow writes to journalists, 'but somehow the struggle against deception and window dressing does not seem to make much headway. Words are circulating across the country, the paper whirlpool is swirling.'"

The remainder of the article deals with specific instances of a lack of proper official response to publications on matters concerning consumer affairs, housing, funeral services, and culprits evading punishment.

Begun, Family To Depart for Israel 18 Jan
LD061447 Hamburg DPA in German 1315 GMT
6 Jan 88

[Excerpt] Moscow (DPA)—Soviet human rights activist Josef Begun will leave the USSR with his wife, his mother-in-law, his son, and the latter's family on 18 January. Friends of the 55-year-old Jewish mathematician and Hebrew teacher announced this today in response to an inquiry. Begun and his family intend to travel to Israel. His son has been assured after long wrangling that he will be allowed to return to the USSR to visit relatives.

As has been reported, Begun is suing the Soviet Government paper IZVESTIYA and a commentator from Soviet television for libel and for injuring his dignity. The paper and the television station had described him as an agent of the Israeli secret service. The television maintained that he had organized demonstrations of Jews wanting to emigrate, so-called refusniks.

According to his friends, Begun's cases will be dealt with at the courts of the Moscow boroughs of Frunzenskiy and Moskvoretskiy. According to hearsay, the case against the television has been scheduled for next Wednesday. Begun intends to conclude the cases in all events and, if necessary, entrust friends with upholding his interests in case the courts come to their decision after his departure. [passage omitted]

Hare Krishna Follower Released From Hospital
AU061923 Paris AFP in English 1920 GMT
6 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, Jan 6 (AFP)—The Soviet Union released the remaining member of the Hare Krishna religious sect being held in a mental hospital, the same day as new legislation to curb psychiatric abuses was announced, dissident sources said here Wednesday.

But shortly before the release of Karen Karamitian from an Armenian institution on Monday, dissident physician Lev Oubojko was reconfined in a mental hospital, the dissidents said at a press conference.

Mr Oubojko spent 17 years in a psychiatric hospital from 1970 after being found guilty of anti-Soviet activities.

He was released last year, but was again arrested on December 24 and taken to a Moscow psychiatric hospital which refused to accept him, the dissidents said.

He was then taken to and interned in the institution where he had previously been held in the town of Chelyabinsk in the Urals.

Commenting on the new Soviet legislation which makes it illegal to commit a healthy person to a mental hospital, one of the dissidents, Lev Timofeev, said that the use of psychiatric pressure in the Soviet Union "was not a question of legislation, but one of practice."

"There has always been a law governing forcible detention ... but it has not always been respected," he said.

Mr Timofeev, an official of the Glasnost Press Club which organized the press conference, admitted, however, that the Soviet authorities, because of foreign pressures, were taking a more careful line on the issue than before.

Militiamen Disciplined for 'Illegal Actions'
PM061517 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Jan 88
Second Edition p 3

[Unattributed report under the rubric "Following Inspection": "The Law is the Same for Everyone"]

[Text] PRAVDA received a letter from N. Kartunov from Novomirgorod in Kirovograd Oblast about illegal actions by militia workers.

Ye. Marmazov, the party obkom secretary, has reported to the editorial board that a check of this letter confirmed the case of red tape and violations of socialist legality on the part of the law enforcement organs in Novomirgorodskiy Rayon.

The party raykom bureau, after examining the decisions of the primary party organizations, severely reprimanded and endorsed the records of Communist V. Rudnenko, chief of the Novomirgorodskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department, and L. Pankov, deputy chief for political matters. Investigator P. Fedorchenko was expelled from the party and dismissed from the internal affairs organs by decree of the Internal Affairs Administration Collegium for serious shortcomings during the investigation. Investigator O. Vigura was severely reprimanded and had his record endorsed. Rayon Prosecutor A. Sheremet was reprimanded.

The same session of the party raykom bureau expelled N. Kartunov from the CPSU for committing an offense subject to criminal punishment. In view of the liberalism and red tape displayed during the investigation of Kartunov's personal case, it was deemed inexpedient for G. Spachenko to continue in her position as secretary of the rayon consumer society primary party organization, and she was severely reprimanded and had her record endorsed.

V. Rudchenko was released from his duties as chief of the Novomirgorodskiy Rayon Militia Department by decree of the Kirovograd Internal Affairs Administration.

Moscow MVD Briefs Press on Holiday Activities

LD061232 Moscow TASS in English 1202 GMT

6 Jan 88

["Briefing at Moscow's Internal Affairs Administration"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—The past new year holiday was a relatively tranquil experience for Moscow's militia: Over four days there were two murder cases, two burglaries, one case of theft of state property and three cases of burglary as well as 24 traffic accidents in Moscow, a city with a population of almost nine million. There were no cases of rape, nor serious bodily injuries, nor automobile hijacking cases. A statement to this effect was made to Soviet and foreign newsmen today at the first briefing of new year which was held at Moscow's Main Home Affairs Administration.

To enable the Muscovites to peacefully see the new year in, Moscow militia was put on alert from 0900 on the morning of December 28 till 2100 on January 4. Fifteen hundred militiamen more than on usual occasions took part in the work on those days. Heavy duty details were posted at the New Year trees in Moscow's streets and squares and in 78 grounds, where New Year celebrations were held in the open. The traffic militia carefully checked on the whole transport carrying children to New Year performances.

Almost 200 liquor stores were opened in Moscow on New Year's eve in addition to the usually functioning ones. Yet not a single case of hooliganism was registered. Moscow militia had orders to detain persons in a state of intoxication on the New Year days only as a last resort. Law and order were effectively ensured albeit more than a million people were in the streets of Moscow on the New Year night alone.

The newsmen were briefed on the statistics of crime in Moscow in 1987. The number of grave crimes declined by 31.8 per cent, including murder—by 10.4 per cent. The number of robbery cases and bad bodily injuries declined. Moscow militia is concerned as before about the theft of personal property especially from cars. Last year a total of 80,000 persons who were not gainfully employed were found out in Moscow, 71,000 were placed in jobs. The number of accidents grew 6.6 per cent: 693 people were killed in 6,076 traffic accidents.

First Foreign Ad Appears in MOSCOW NEWS

TB051126 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1418 GMT

3 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, January 3 (TANJUG)—The first foreign advertisement in the Soviet Union has appeared in MOSCOW NEWS.

The Soviet paper publishes a full-page ad put out by Parker. The picture shows Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan using the fountain-pens of this U.S. firm in signing the INF treaty in Washington.

Briefs

New Illustrated Weekly

The first issue of VETERAN, a new illustrated weekly supplement to the newspaper TRUD was put out today. It is published by the All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans and is available in Moscow, Kiev, Tashkent, Kuybyshev. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 31 Dec 87 LD*]

Hepatitis in Riga

Riga, 31 Dec (TASS)—The tense days of struggling to prevent what seemed like an impending hepatitis outbreak in Riga are now over. On 10 December, 10 cases were hospitalized, the usual number for this season of the year being 2 to 3 cases a day. The source of infection was water from the Daugava, polluted by waste containing the hepatitis-A virus due to poor purification. Measures were taken to chlorinate the water as much as possible and to notify the population about rules of hygiene and, as a result, the incidence of this illness began to decline on 25 December. Riga's population is nearly 1 million and currently there are 407 hepatitis cases there. The medical services succeeded in averting an epidemic. The Institute of Microbiology of the Estonia republican Academy of Sciences is to help ensure that there will be no similar incidents. Additional chlorination of water has begun and is to continue and stricter waste control procedures have come into force. [Summary] [*Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1310 GMT 31 Dec 87 LD*]

Altay Kray Radio Developments

From today, Altay Kray radio announcers began introducing regular broadcasts from a new Radio Broadcasting House. Sophisticated equipment has not only enabled the range of broadcasts to be increased; it has made it possible to transmit local and all-union broadcasts in high-quality stereophonic sound. In the concert studio of the Radio Broadcasting House it is possible to record performances by large amateur and professional groups and to transmit live radio and television relays of concerts, competitions, reviews and other programs with a live audience. [Text] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 3 Jan 88 LD*]

New Stavropol Television Studio

The first program has just come to an end, relayed from the new television studio in Stavropol which was completed on New Year's eve. The 2-hour program, which

the Stavropol journalists called "Debut" has become the debut program of the studio, and described local television plans. Until today, the television programs of Stavropol TV were prepared in Pyatigorsk and were relayed from Pyatigorsk via a relay on the Mashuk mountain. The new studio will improve the quality of programs. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Jan 88 LD*]

Agricultural

Nikonov on 'One Criterion' for Progress

PM061307 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Dec 87
Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Improving the Work of the Agro-Industrial Complex"]

[Text] Through the efforts of the party and the entire people, stagnation phenomena in agriculture have been overcome and a consistent increase in production ensured. According to preliminary data, the average annual volume of gross agricultural output will have increased 10% in 1986-1987. That is almost double the average annual production rate for the last 5-year plan.

Developing in a single complex with agriculture, enterprises in the food and processing industries of the agro-industrial complex have begun working more stably. Yet there is still a food shortage, which makes the people greatly and justifiably dissatisfied with the work of the agro-industrial complex. This was stated at a meeting of the party organization of the USSR Gosagroprom apparatus which discussed the party committee's report on work to lead restructuring.

V.P. Nikonov, Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary, participated in the meeting.

An analysis of activity during the first stage of restructuring in subdivisions and the very preparations for this meeting attest to the dynamic nature of the changes in the agro-industrial complex. New approaches to enhancing businesslike efficiency in the apparatus and to the ability to transform schemes into specific actions have been defined. A revival of economic life is to be observed in the countryside, the economy of the agro-industrial complex is assuming a stable nature, and the current transformations are displaying vitality.

Yet the party committee has not secured a fundamental breakthrough in its work, and glasnost, constructive criticism, and self-criticism on a truly democratic basis are still not at the proper level. At party meetings mere censure of the period of stagnation frequently takes the place of criticism. Boldness in debate peacefully rubs shoulders with timidity in practical matters.

The keynote speaker, Party Committee Secretary A.Z. Grishanov, and those who spoke at the meeting—V.I. Vagin, chief of a department of the Main Administration

for Planning the Social and Economic Development of the Agro-Industrial Complex and secretary of the Main Administration Party Bureau; A.V. Tamarov, deputy chief of the Personnel Administration and secretary of the Administration Party Bureau; G.A. Romanenko, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom; G.A. Popokina, leading specialist of the Agrosnab [expansion unknown] and secretary of a shop party organization party bureau; Ye.I. Sizenko, first deputy chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom; and others—focused chief attention on ways to improve the party committee's work in implementing the tasks of restructuring the country's agro-industrial complex.

It is already clear to everyone, the speakers said, that the raising of cadres' qualifications and constant study by the entire apparatus assume very great significance under conditions of radical economic reform. The party committee sees it as its task to arm every working person with clear understanding of his duties, with modern economic thinking, and with knowledge of ways to intensify and integrate sectors.

V.P. Nikonov addressed the meeting. He said, in particular, that today there can be just one criterion for assessing the activity of the USSR Gosagroprom party committee—real changes for the better in the apparatus' work on enhancing the efficiency of enterprises and organizations in the agro-industrial complex and, on this basis, an improvement in food supplies to the population.

Two years have passed since the organizational structure of management of the agro-industrial complex was restructured. Much has been done, although much requires further improvement in this regard, particularly in the provinces. Administrative-bureaucratic methods of leadership still predominate in the work of management organs. In the opinion of the majority of enterprise leaders and specialists, the management system requires serious adjustment in the structural department and a significant reduction in staff in connection with the entry into force of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and the transition to work under conditions of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing.

Structural transformations are being implemented with the greatest difficulty in capital construction. Yet the strengthening of the material and technical base of the agro-industrial complex, the basis for successfully fulfilling the Food Program, largely depends on the successful work of this sector.

The first stage—the amalgamation of the subdivisions of the former USSR Ministry of Rural Construction and interkolkhoz construction organizations—proceeded quickly and in an organized manner and yielded positive results. That measure was implemented with traditional administrative methods, but the carrying out of subsequent changes on a democratic basis has come up against

an inability at the local level to use the extensive rights granted and against a lack of clear and efficient direction at the center as well. Probably in no other sector is there such heterogeneity as in the structure of rural construction in the republics, krais, and oblasts. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that the leaders of the country's Gosagroprom and the union republic gosagroproms themselves have still not determined "on which shore to be washed up" or what decision to make.

The speaker pointed out that under conditions where intensive techniques for cultivating agricultural crops are being widely introduced on the country's farms and increasing use is being made of mineral and organic fertilizers, pesticides, biological methods of plant protection, and chemical soil improvement, the role and responsibility of the specialized agrochemical service in the highly efficient use of chemicalization means in the struggle for the harvest are increasing significantly.

However, the activity of the agrochemical service deteriorated sharply in a number of republics, krais, and oblasts in 1986-1987. This is connected primarily with the fact that the USSR Gosagroprom has not yet created a unified management structure for the country's chemicalization service, and mistakes and miscalculations have been made during its reorganization in a number of places. Individual local party, soviet, and agro-industrial organs have also relaxed attention to the development of this service.

Speaking about the work of the USSR Gosagroprom central apparatus, V.P. Nikonov emphasized that the rights and duties of each subdivision have still not been clearly defined, a lack of coordination between them is to be observed, the resolution of many questions has become more complicated, the flow of paperwork to the localities is not diminishing, the return from workers' business trips is low, and businesslike liaison with the USSR Gosplan and other committees, ministries, and departments remains weak.

The state of affairs in the territories is analyzed poorly in the subdivisions. They seldom examine regional problems or take practical measures on their own initiative, and the opinion has emerged at local level that, to resolve particular major questions in the oblast, you must be sure to go repeatedly to Moscow offices to make representations.

An important constituent part of the apparatus party committee's activity is organizational work to fulfill the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and Central Committee plenums and party and government resolutions. At the same time there are serious shortcomings here, and sometimes indiscipline and irresponsibility on the part of chief specialists. The party committee must make a strict assessment of every such instance and display greater exactingness and principledness.

Regarding enhancing stability in crop farming and raising it to a high technological standard, the CPSU Central Committee secretary pointed out that the communists of the USSR Gosagroprom are not working actively enough on a number of important questions on which the resolution of this cardinal problem depends. This applies, in particular, to seed growing. Its material and technical base remains weak in many regions. The situation is not improving in seed growing for corn, sunflowers, feed beets, and a number of other crops.

Questions of the further development of livestockraising must constantly be at the center of the USSR Gosagroprom party committee's attention. Although certain positive trends have become apparent in this sector in recent years, the work cannot yet be considered adequate.

Difficulties in the supply of meat and dairy products to the population have not yet been overcome in many republics, oblasts, and major industrial centers. And complaints may be addressed today to the communists of the livestock products production and processing department for the fact that many fundamental problems of livestock raising are only slowly being resolved.

There is no need to say how important a role belongs to the fruit and vegetable complex in providing the population with food. Its successful activity, probably more than any other, can be effective only with profound production specialization and concentration and close integration and cooperation among all the partners comprising it. It was just such intercoordinated work that was expected when organizing the Gosagroprom. Practice shows, however, that the situation in this sector has not only not improved but has even worsened in some regions. In a number of places a loss of specialization on fruit- and vegetable-growing farms has become a trend. Great diversity in the management structure of fruit and vegetable farming is to be observed in republics, krais, and oblasts. The majority of rayon agro-industrial associations have no specialists in fruit and vegetable growing at all, the farms' established specialization is not always taken into account when planning, and volumes of purchases of other products are increased—which frequently leads to a reduction in sowing areas and nonfulfillment of the plans for sales of products to the state. Discipline regarding deliveries of potatoes, fruits, and vegetables to the union and republican funds and their quality and range are diminishing.

A particularly complex situation is taking shape in the fruit and vegetable products processing industry. This sector has essentially found itself without proper technological management at the local level. Local organs are not carrying out and, because of a lack of skilled cadres, they cannot carry out work on retooling production, saving raw and auxiliary materials, or improving quality.

The party Central Committee, the speaker emphasized, devotes constant attention to further developing enterprises in the processing sectors of industry. A conference

was held on these questions at the CPSU Central Committee in October. At the same time, the Gosagroprom party committee is not active enough in mobilizing communists and all apparatus workers to fulfill the decisions adopted. The funds allocated to developing the food sectors are not fully assimilated, and fixed capital and capacities are commissioned late. Measures to retool production are implemented poorly.

Serious concern is aroused by the state of affairs regarding transferring food sector enterprises in a number of regions of the country to full economic accountability and self-financing as of 1 January 1988. They have not yet been notified of the necessary normatives, and cadre training has not been organized. Measures are not being taken to improve the financial activity of low-profit and loss-making enterprises.

The party committee must organize matters so that all structural managerial subdivisions of the USSR Gosagroprom without exception carry out work on transferring farms and enterprises to full economic accountability and self-financing. It is important to notify rayon agro-industrial associations and oblast and republic agro-industrial committees of this requirement. The new economic mechanism of management in the country's agro-industrial complex can be successfully introduced only by involving all specialists in resolving this task.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary noted the responsible role of the USSR Gosagroprom party organization in resolving cadre questions. The restructuring of the work of higher and secondary specialized educational institutions in training and raising the level of training of specialists and mass trade cadres must be accelerated.

Speaking about current questions, V.P. Nikonov drew attention to the importance of organized livestock wintering, reliable preparations for spring sowing, and the creation of the necessary preconditions for obtaining a high harvest of all agricultural crops in the 3d year of the 5-year plan and ensuring the unconditional fulfillment of the plans for production and procurements of products, particularly grain. Special attention must be devoted to the question of improving the use of reclaimed land and to the improvement and introduction of scientifically substantiated crop farming systems, intensive techniques, and new management methods.

The year 1987 is special to us. It is the year of the 70th anniversary of Great October, the year of the large-scale development of restructuring of the economy and the social sphere, of the turn toward deepening the democratization of all aspects of life, the CPSU Central Committee secretary said. He expressed confidence that the communists and the entire collective of the USSR Gosagroprom apparatus will devote their strength, experience, and knowledge to carrying out efficient restructuring in the country's agro-industrial complex.

Stockraising Figures for Jan-Nov 1987

PM061053 [Editorial Report] Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 52, December 1987 (signed to press 17 December 1987) carries on page 11 as part of a full-page feature under the rubric "Agro-Industrial Complex Economy: Production Reserves," the following three tables of statistics:

Stockraising on Kolkhoses and Sovkhoses. USSR State Committee for Statistics Data for January-November 1987

Meat production (sale of livestock and poultry for slaughter, live weight), thousand tonnes	Total: 18,987
Cattle	10,649
Pigs	4,728
Sheep and goats	1,129
Poultry	2,481
Gross milk yield, thousand tonnes	Total: 76,329
Average milk yield per cow, kg	2,512
Hen eggs, millions	Total: 54,632
Average egg yield of laying hens, units	209

Purchases of Livestock Products on All Categories of Farms

Livestock and poultry (live weight), thousand tonnes	20,014
Milk, thousand tonnes	69,785
Eggs, millions	51,149

Production and Purchases of Livestock Products by Union Republic. January-November 1987 as Percentage of January-November 1986

	Production			Purchases		
	Meat	Milk	Eggs	Livestock	Milk	Eggs and Poultry
USSR	105	102	104	108	103	103
RSFSR	106	102	103	110	103	104
of which the Non-chernozem Zone	105	103	104	107	103	104
Ukrainian SSR	104	100.8	102	109	102	100.5
Belorussian SSR	108	106	105	108	109	104
Uzbek SSR	102	107	112	104	107	111
Kazakh SSR	107	103	104	108	104	104
Georgian SSR	101	100.7	100.4	101	100.8	101
Azerbaijan SSR	107	100	110	106	102	108
Lithuanian SSR	103	102	108	102	104	110
Moldavian SSR	100.8	100.6	104	102	104	107
Latvian SSR	104	102	100.1	105	103	102
Kirghiz SSR	105	104	110	108	103	110
Tajik SSR	106	99	104	103	98	103
Armenian SSR	103	98	105	100.9	98	107
Turkmen SSR	104	104	107	107	104	106
Estonian SSR	102	102	101	103	104	103

Cooperative Workers Pensions To Increase
LD051402 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1036 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 5 Jan (TASS)—As of January 1988, minimum pensions for members of agricultural cooperatives and their families have been raised in the USSR. All types of pensions are subject to increase in accordance with age (men in the USSR have the right to a pension at 60, women at 55), according to disability, and in the case of the loss of a breadwinner. Minimum pension levels for industrial and office workers and peasants are regularly reassessed with a view to increases. A new USSR pensions bill is currently being drawn up; it is designed to improve the material position of labor veterans.

Scientific

'Cosmos-1908' Satellite Launched for Research
LD161649 Moscow TASS International Service
in Russian 1635 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 6 Jan (TASS)—Another artificial earth satellite, "Cosmos-1908," was launched in the Soviet Union today.

The satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution, 97.7 minutes; apogee 678 km; perigee, 650 km; orbital inclination, 82.5 degrees.

Besides scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting data to Earth on the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally. The coordinating and computer center is processing the incoming information.

Indian 'IRS-1' Satellite Ready for Delivery
LD071332 Moscow TASS in English 1136 GMT
7 Jan 88

[Text] New Delhi January 7 TASS—The Indian satellite IRS-1 is packaged and ready to go for launch to the Soviet Union, according to Professor U.R. Rao, chairman of the Indian Space Research Committee.

The 1,000-kilogram satellite will be delivered to the USSR at the end of this month and after 45 days of pre-flight tests will be taken to orbit by a Soviet booster blasting off from Baykonur space port.

Rao said five regional centers and 18 tracking stations had been set up to receive and interpret information from IRS-1.

The satellite is fitted out with newest equipment to continue studying the natural resources of India.

India has been closely cooperating with the Soviet Union in space studies. Thanks to this cooperation it has proved possible to identify several areas showing promising signs of iron ore and other valuable mineral deposits. Besides, a detailed map of India's forest resources has been compiled.

Rao said that in the next three years Indian scientists would be able with the satellite's help to have an accurate idea of the state of six to eight varieties of crops throughout India.

Balebanov Outlines 1988 Space Program
PM071033 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
3 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with State Prizewinner V. Balebanov, deputy director of the Academy of Sciences Space Research Institute, conducted by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA nonstaff correspondent V. Khrustov and published under the rubric "We Report at Readers' Request"; "Chronicle of Space Firsts"; date, place not specified; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] A new year also means new space achievements. What is in store for us in 1988? What interplanetary trails will be blazed by our planet's envoys, what will take place in near-earth space, and what research and experiments have already been prepared and calculated and are awaiting implementation?

USSR State Prizewinner V. Balebanov, deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Space Research Institute, talked to our nonstaff correspondent V. Khrustov about the most major national and international projects for the year.

The year 1988 will be a year of great space firsts. Soviet scientists intend to take new steps in the peaceful exploration of near-earth and interplanetary space. There are currently several, in my opinion, impressive projects are in a state of complete readiness or the final development phase. The consistency and large scale of Soviet space programs is attracting scientists from all over the world. We have invited our foreign colleagues to take part in the planned experiments.

I must say that, thanks to the ever-increasing capabilities of Soviet space rocket equipment (payload weight and dimensions are increasing), today we can put into orbit very sizable scientific instruments—for instance, telescopes weighing several tonnes.

The powerful new "Energiya" launcher opens up tremendous prospects. The commissioning of such launchers will facilitate the study and opening up of very distant space objects. Practically any scientific apparatus can be put into the requisite orbits with the use of such launchers.

Work aboard the "Mir"- "Kvant" orbital complex, which will receive Soviet and international crews, will continue in the new year. This is a very interesting and important program.

The big "Phobos" international project is scheduled to commence in July. Two new space stations will fly to Mars to explore that planet and also its satellite Phobos at very close range. Moreover, small landing apparatuses will be dropped onto the surface of Phobos to study this very interesting celestial body, which is thought to be a former asteroid caught in Mars' gravitational field.

In 1988 it is also planned to launch a high-apogee "Astron" satellite carrying a "Granat" gamma- and x-ray observatory. A French gamma-ray telescope will be installed on the satellite to study background soft [myagkiy] gamma radiation together with two Soviet x-ray telescopes to study hard x-rays. The observatory also includes a series of instruments for studying rapid gamma- and x-ray bursts. This is basically a Soviet-French experiment, but Bulgaria and Denmark are also taking part in it.

The "Gamma-1" space observatory will also be put into orbit. Its task is to investigate hard gamma radiation and the processes of thermonuclear explosions on distant worlds [mira]. The onboard apparatus will measure streams of tremendously high-energy gamma rays. We are expecting new discoveries here. French and Polish scientists are taking part in the project.

Now a word about the "Aktivniy" project. It is also scheduled for implementation in 1988. The point is that, by directing electromagnetic waves at plasma in the earth's ionosphere, it is possible to rapidly provoke very interesting phenomena associated with the transfer of energy from the sun to the earth. The study of such phenomena will facilitate significant progress in understanding the processes of energy transfer from the sun to our planet.

It is planned to launch a special satellite into a low (300-500km) circular orbit to conduct these experiments. Then a small subsatellite (made in Czechoslovakia) will separate from the "mother" vessel, which will enable all these interesting effects and phenomena to be measured at a regulated distance from two points in space in the same orbit. European socialist countries involved in the Interkosmos program are participating in the experiment.

Naturally, new Cosmos-series satellites and new communications, meteorological observation, and navigation satellites will appear in the new year....

In the future our cosmonauts will also be broadening their "production areas." The "Mir" orbital station will have new modules. The scientific apparatus on the next module is designed to study the earth, the world ocean, and the atmosphere. The studies will be carried out using an onboard videocomputer. The instruments and experiments are being prepared by Soviet scientists and specialists from the CSSR, the GDR, Hungary, and Bulgaria.

The so-called "APEKS"—Active Plasma Experiment—also looks extremely interesting. Another satellite will be launched into circular orbit to supplement the "Aktivniy" project in researching the mechanisms by which solar energy is transformed in the earth's ionosphere. But in this experiment we will be using not electromagnetic waves but plasma, in the form of electron streams. However, there is another "but": These are plans for 1989.

So long as we are thinking beyond 1988, it is worth saying a few words about the next decade in space. It will opened with the "Interbol" project. Two high-apogee satellites will begin their scientific watch in 1990: one over the earth's polar regions, the other going far beyond into the so-called "tail" of the magnetosphere.

In the next 5-year plan we intend to concentrate our main program on continuing Mars research. During one of the two astronomical "windows"—in 1992 or 1994—we will again be sending two automatic stations to Mars, to become its satellites and observe the planet and study its atmosphere at a distance. Furthermore we will drop several small probes onto Mars to study the soil at various points on the planet. The results could be very interesting, because the satellites will be the first to be sent into polar orbit. We are hoping also to succeed in releasing balloons into the Martian atmosphere, to study the atmosphere by day and then land and investigate the surface by night. In addition, we may possibly send a "Mars buggy" to the mysterious planet which will automatically sample the soil at various points along its path.

The Mars program will be continued beyond that: The Martian surface and atmosphere must be investigated in detail to select the optimum points for future manned landings.

In recent years international cooperation has been expanding. Several intergovernmental agreements have recently been signed, notably with Britain and Finland. The USSR-U.S. intergovernmental agreement has been renewed. Our institute has established contacts and started joint work with leading research centers in Denmark, Belgium, and Brazil. The possibility is currently being discussed of cooperation between our institute and some other countries' leading scientific centers for space research.

Moscow Previews 'Mir' Experiments

*LD070707 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
0304 GMT 7 Jan 88*

[Text] The flight of the "Mir" science research complex is continuing. Today's work program includes technical and technological experiments, control checks on auxiliary systems, and replacement of individual units and components. The technical rezonans experiment planned for today is being conducted with the aim of studying the dynamic characteristics of the complex orbital complex. Work in near-earth orbit is going according to schedule. Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov are healthy and feel well.

Military

Moscow Military Aktiv Meets, Lizichev Speaks

*PM061403 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
24 Dec 87 Second Edition p 2*

[Correspondent Colonel V. Zhitarenko report under the rubric "Party Life: Reports on Progress in Restructuring": "Are There Changes in the District?"]

[Excerpts] Moscow Military District—I have attended almost all party aktiv meetings in the district over the past 5 years, and I can assure you that this meeting was distinguished by the greatest militancy, out-of-the-ordinariness, and inner dynamism. Had the situation enforced this? Yes. It was a situation demanding a resolute struggle to improve matters in combat readiness, in personnel professional skill, and in strengthening discipline and order. It was also enforced by the meeting's very agenda: It necessitated a careful analysis of the course of the first stage of restructuring in the work of military cadres, political organs, and party organizations in light of the 27th CPSU Congress decisions and the outlining of tasks for the new stage. As is known, the essence of this new stage is that a visible and weighty result must be produced.

Much seemed to have been done. Approximately half the district's formations and units completed the training year with high indicators in training and service, and almost one-fourth of the personnel achieved excellent results in combat and political training, including more than half the Communists. Everyone in the district who is supposed to have a class qualification does indeed have one. Coordination has increased among subunits and units, and new combat hardware is being assimilated successfully. Tankmen and artillerymen have worked well, adding substantially to tactical and fire skill over the past year, and servicemen of the signal corps and other categories of troops have had successes. But attention at the meeting was devoted to something else: Why are the other half of the units and formations and the other half of the communists still content with mediocre results? Why have the personnel of engineer troop and chemical protection troop subunits yielded the positions they had won earlier regarding a number of indicators?

Why is a slow start still being made in a number of military schools and military commissariats—the Gorkiy Higher Military School of Rear Services, the Kolomna Higher Artillery Command School, the Ryzan Higher Command School of Communications, and the Moscow, Ryazan, and Vladimir Oblast Military Commissariats?

Only a year or even a few months ago the causes would have been sought down there—"at the grass roots." But now the keynote speaker—Colonel General V. Arkhipov, district commander—began with something else:

"As chairman of the district Military Council, I cannot absolve myself of blame for shortcomings in managerial activity and in control and verification of execution or, finally, for failures in military discipline..."

It was pointed out in the report and the speeches that the district Political Directorate headed by Lieutenant General A. Makunin had also fallen short in its work in some respects. Not all measures had been taken to improve the work style and methods of the district political apparatus, to increase the party organizations' militancy, or to ensure the vanguard role of communists in restructuring. It was also stated that principled conclusions should also be drawn by Lieutenant General V. Fursin, district chief of staff, who has still not ensured that the staff is the real generator of acceleration and improved organizational work among the troops. Suggestions were put to Lieutenant General I. Rodionov, district first deputy commander, for better-quality leadership of combat training in formations and units. Lieutenant General M. Manakin, district deputy commander for rear services, was criticized for shortcomings in providing garrisons with everything they need for normal life and training...

The problems stand out far more clearly when an earnest discussion concerns everyone regardless of person and rank. At the meeting 49 Communists spoke in the debate—and this too was unusual. To enable such a large number wishing to speak on topical questions of restructuring to do so, the meeting's organizers had recourse to work in sections in addition to its plenary session. There were five sections. Representatives of combat units, military educational institutions, and military commissariats, as well as party activists of rear service and military construction units, spent some time discussing their problems separately. The mood for an earnest discussion had been set in advance—a month before the meeting the report theses, the draft resolution, and information on the work of the party commission under the district political directorate had been sent out to primary political organs: Familiarize yourselves, disagree, make suggestions and comments, get in the mood for a businesslike, principled discussion. The chief thing is to define the key questions for further specific activity.

Addressing the party aktiv meeting, Army General A. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, drew attention to some of them. It

is necessary to ensure that the district leadership and all communists know the profound essence of restructuring and their place in it, be convinced of everyone's ability to get actively involved in work, and help to see this work through to the end, ensuring good quality and results. It is important to create in every military collective an atmosphere of objective assessment, openness, and glasnost. Many leaders who are communists must get rid of the virus of infallibility and learn how to interpret critically their contribution to common causes. In the practice of leadership chief attention is to be concentrated not on "transmission" functions but on organizational functions. This is particularly important for primary political organs. For them to pass on instructions "to the grass roots" means simply letting work slide. They must roll up their sleeves and with their own hands change the style and practice of their own work and the work of primary party organizations and their party committees and party bureaus.

Here, more than anywhere, it is necessary to put into practice the principle "Do as I do!" so that every communist sees an example of a party activist fulfilling his official duty and everyone adopts the organizer's best features.

Here, more than anywhere, it is important to reject work with papers in favor of work with people. To look a person in the face, as it were, eye to eye, really get to know his joys and griefs, and learn to assess him not by means of an average approach but on his specific contribution to common concerns. This is no easy task, but it is all the more urgent for the primary political organ and its activists.

Specific, painstaking work with the Komsomol on developing its initiative, independence, and responsibility also demands the far greater attention of unit and formation political departments. Just like the problem of the new, qualitative state of our ideological and political educational work.

Only such a specific approach makes possible the vanguard role of the party aktiv and the assertion of one-man command on a party basis, of the principles of socialist democratism, and the development of criticism and self-criticism. Otherwise the best initiatives will get bogged down in critical speeches, and progressive experience will hardly emerge. But we need decisive steps forward. [passage omitted]

The political organ headed by Colonel T. Yerizhokov asserts itself through militancy, innovativeness, and genuine closeness to people. There the paper style of work has been overcome in a short time, and the political department workers' main efforts have been transferred to primary party organizations. The communist leaders of the formation and the units report back without fail on the fulfillment of their party duty at party committee and party bureau sessions and party meetings. The benefit from this is mutual. The leader seeks to merit the

right to say: This is how I work, but I will demand the same of others, too. The rest learn from his example. It is precisely communist leaders who set the tone of restructuring in the unit where Officer V. Zavadskiy serves. There, for example, they did not have a single gross violation of military discipline last year.

Addressing the party aktiv meeting, Communist V. Zavadskiy looked further ahead, to the long term. He exposed another "sore"—and not only in the unit. It turns out that Officer L. Rudnitskiy, unit chief of staff, is not up to scratch on the moral plane—which could "reverberate" in the future. But the district cadre directorate fails to respond with decisive measures to all reports on this, citing the opinion of a higher cadre instance: We do not dismiss people for such "trifles." Colonel A. Khanin, chief of the cadre directorate, has done a great deal recently in the struggle against favoritism and the promotion of cadres on principles of personal devotion to someone and of subservience. Lieutenant Colonels N. Yezhov and V. Yurchenkov and a number of other officers have been dismissed recently. On the one hand, we cannot fail to be concerned at the fact that the number of leaders dismissed from the Army for noncompliance with official duty increased 12% this year compared with last year. On the other hand, the district is being purged of people who do not "pull their weight," as it were. If there is a need for this, then we must knock more insistently on the doors of the highest instances to ensure that people embellish posts, not the other way around. Not paying attention to "trifles" in officers' service and moral behavior means living in the old manner. This in no way conforms with the cause of restructuring.

Lieutenant Colonel B. Zibarev, political worker at the district training center, addressed the meeting. He had prepared a little paper containing a little about the training center's successes, a tiny bit about shortcomings, and a bit of criticism and self-criticism, but most of all there were truisms about how his subordinates should better themselves. But he was interrupted at this meeting: Never mind your piece of paper, you would do better to tell us, Boris Vasilyevich, how people at the training center are thinking of enhancing the personal example of communist officers in combat training, for this is a lamentable indicator with you—just 6% of them have excellent training results, while the others get by moderately with fours and threes, and some have totally unsatisfactory assessments. The meeting did not get an intelligible reply. The speaker again bent over his crib and stubbornly finished delivering a lecture of no use to anyone...

In this connection I will also cite the opinion of certain speakers on the nature of the unified political days held in the district. They are frequently conducted in the same way—from written texts. It is time people realized that this is unsuitable today...

People also spoke of criticism and its constructiveness. It is also time to take a more exacting look at demagogues and phrasemongers. Propose when criticizing, and act when proposing. It is not superfluous to repeat this thought over and over again when speaking of the demands of the coming stage of restructuring.

So, are there changes in the district? Yes, and they are considerable. But the times demand more. The times make us move on. This was said at the party aktiv meeting. It is necessary to enhance efficiency in the activities of military cadres, political organs, and party organizations and the vanguard role of every communist. The preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference and the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Armed Forces also make special demands in this sphere. But it has always befitted the communist to respond by actions to the call of the time.

PRAVDA Denies Militarism, Plans Army Coverage
PM061109 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jan 88
Second Edition p 1

["PRAVDA Military Desk" article under the rubric "We Serve the Soviet Union!": "Greeting the Jubilee"]

[Text] Yesterday a new training year began in the Army and in the Navy. A holiday is a holiday, but even on New Year's night many of PRAVDA's military readers were not among the family but were on combat standby alert duty: at the control panels of strategic missiles, on board missile submarines, at command posts, airfields, and Air Force and Air Defense positions...

A special year has arrived: In February we will celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Soviet Army and Navy. In the long ago year 1925, on the 7th anniversary, M.V. Frunze remarked: "Regarding its political and moral status, the Red Army is a precise copy, a precise facsimile of our worker-peasant country; insofar as throughout the whole country we see the consolidation of the working masses' material position, insofar as we see the consolidation of the spirit of activeness and initiative, this also has an effect on the Red Army."

"The spirit of activeness and initiative..." How consonant these words are with our present deeds and aspirations! The Army lives for the same interests as the country. A strong economy is above all high combat readiness. If, as of 1 January, 10 grams of butter are added to servicemen's daily ration, and a little later 25 grams of meat are added, this is not merely national economic arithmetic. This is nationwide concern.

"Selfless military work, exemplary service, and the highest discipline are our contribution to the cause of defending the motherland"—socialist competition in the Army and Navy will take place under this watchword in the anniversary year. Its initiators were 5 military collectives: Lieutenant Colonel N. Ulyanov's N [not further

identified] missile unit, Lieutenant Colonel Yu. Pakhomov's guards tank regiment, Lieutenant Colonel V. Soshko's Air Defense Forces antiaircraft missile regiment, Lieutenant Colonel V. Maskayev's bomber regiment airmen, and the crew of the "Minskiy Komsomolts" nuclear-powered submarine commanded by Captain First Rank E. Rybakov.

The Army and Navy are entering the jubilee year under the sign of the historic treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. The main thing is that common sense is gaining the upper hand and the trend toward reducing the level of military confrontation is gaining increasing stability. We think that in these conditions the people who have sworn the oath will be called even more strictly to account both for the quality of their combat service and also for the level of combat readiness, and for the state of military discipline.

Party aktivs and party committee reports on the progress of restructuring in the Armed Forces are now taking place in precisely this exacting vein.

We intend to regularly inform readers about the main stages of the 1988 combat training, including the planned joint measures by the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces, among which the traditional "Druzhba" exercises occupy an important place.

We will not deny that from time to time a letter arrives in the military desk's mailbag whose author reproaches us almost with militarism and advises us to concentrate all our attention on disarmament. What can we say here? Let us just recall M.S. Gorbachev's words uttered in the Kremlin on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution: "While there is still danger of war, while social revenge remains the key strategy of the West's militarist programs, we will also continue to do everything necessary to maintain defense might at a level which precludes imperialism's military superiority over socialism."

Yazov, Others Sign Former General's Obituary
PM061515 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian
3 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[Obituary of Retired Colonel General A.F. Khrenov]

[Excerpts] Hero of the Soviet Union, Colonel General Retired Arkadiy Fedorovich Khrenov, an active participant in the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars, died 29 December 1987. He devoted his entire conscious life to selflessly serving the socialist Motherland and serving the cause of the Communist Party, of which he had been a member since 1931.

A.F. Khrenov was born in 1900 in Perm Oblast's Ocherskiy Rayon. [passage omitted].

Signed: D.T. Yazov, S.F. Akhromeyev, V.G. Kulikov, P.G. Lushev, A.D. Lizichev, Yu.P. Maksimov, Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, I.M. Tretyak, A.N. Yefimov, V.N. Chernavin, M.I. Sorokin, S.K. Kurotkin, V.M. Shabanov, N.F. Shestopalov, V.L. Govorov, D.S. Sukhorukov, N.V. Ogarkov, M.D. Popkov, S.Kh. Aganov, O.F. Kulishev, S.A. Stychinskiy, V.P. Kuznetsov, S.I. Klyapin.

Briefs

Military Biographical Dictionaries

The Military Publishing House has brought out the first in a two volume set entitled "Heroes of the Soviet Union: a Concise Biographical Dictionary". Around 12,700 biographies of heroes between 1936-1987 will be in the two volumes. Volume one covers heroes with surnames A to L. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1832 GMT 25 Dec 87 LD*]